608 close bond. There are systems of pela here and
582 in Ceram and in Buru. In addition, there is pela
439 between Ambon kampongs and in Ceram kampongs, that is, for sago dealings.

266 They were much amused when I said that Nusa-
771 laut had been inhabited by cannibals up until the eighteenth century. They told me that Nusalaut has seven negori and that it is all Christian and friendly today.

624 The old office of Kapitan is no longer func-
793 tional, although it still carries on in the
178 lineages. The same is true for malessi, assis-
701 tant war leader. However, they still have the tuan tanah. The old priests, mauwen, are evidently just about gone, although Gaspersz says there are still traces of these in the Mohammedan kampongs and he had a court case here in a town only a few years ago. It is evidently taboo.

585 At the wedding[1] there was plenty of fun and
535 European dancing in addition to fast and so-called
534 square dancing and promenade and polonaise which seemed to be a promenade too. At the wedding there was good music including a band with drums and bamboo flutes of different sizes and an orchestra with violin and trumpet and clarinet and guitars, etc. I also saw a ukulele. In Waai with only two thousand five hundred population there are two bands and one orchestra and many players and a good choir in the church. The
181 people seem to be very gay. It is said that the Mohammedan kampongs are less so.

871 Education is spread all over, but in Waai and
556 all other negori they have only lower schools. In order to go any higher it is necessary to go to school in Ambon. Thus, again, the poor are out. There is no real higher education. Thus the flaw is exposed.

582 People marry late here. Rehatta says there is a minimum age law for marriage set at eighteen.

[1] [i.e., in Waai, Hitu; a Christian wedding--Analyst]

585 us a tjakalele Alfur dance with tifa [a kind of
534 small drum], etc. when we go there. We returned
535 at 1 P.M.

565 The incidental facts I picked up from Gaspersz
582 included some startling information on classes.
● 178 I asked about the Radja and whether a man of his standing would marry a common girl. They said that this is not usual but it is possible. I asked if a noble girl might marry a common man and they said it was taboo. They said that if this happened it was best for them to leave Java or some other place. This is absolutely the first modern indication of strong class feeling, like that on Celebes, but persisting in "deculturated" and "democratic" Ambon.

173 Then Gaspersz said that in pre-Portuguese days
631 Leitimor was divided into three great kingdoms
565 ("rule of three"?). One included Soya and
554 Batumerah, another Latuhalat and the other places,
801 and the third included Naku and a few other places. There were three radjas, and under each, ranked, were three orang kaya and a patih (three in all). Thus there were three steps of graded rulers. When the three kingdoms broke up, the negori remained, and there are now forty-one or forty-two (the forty-four include still extant burger kampongs which are really part of certain
[622] negori). The local high man, whether radja or patih or orang kaya, became ruler of the negori, and all such people were equalized in rank, regardless of title. But there are certain negori rulers who still are regarded as higher than others, because in the old days their predecessors were among the higher rulers. Thus (I suppose) there must be three paramount radjas in Leitimor. I must check this. Gaspersz is quite calm in saying that Naku (where he was the former Radja) was an "orang kayadom" in the old days, and thus
ooo of second rank. This whole business will yield

000 new material, I'm sure. Maybe even a marriage pattern will turn up to be based on these three kingdoms!

C 579 875 797 Information on Ceram: Rehatta knows plenty about Ceram as he has been all over it. He says it is safe to travel there now, but that before one would not dare to go into the interior without some military guard. Ambonese teachers are all over Ceram now and Christianity is advancing.

C 114 Rehatta says that the books, for example Stresemann's, are not precise as to the tribal affiliations on Ceram. He says that it would C [304] require two years to get it straight for all of [771] the islands. They still tattoo in the west. He said that there are few pagans left in Piru, but that there are plenty of them in the interior. [287] They still make and use tapa.

A 286 178 In Ambon today there is no more weaving being done. But one hundred years ago they still wove pineapple and ramie fibers. Rehatta saw his great-grandmother weaving.

A 727 115 October 23, evening: I went to Gaspersz' house and sat on the beach along the bay in front of his house talking about the Japanese occupation and adat. [He showed me a report that he wrote about the Japanese for the Dutch. He was evidently a kind of clandestine helper of Australia here. (I heard later that back in the old days he worked for the Germans in Rabaul. This I obtained from an ex-soldier at a wedding)]. The Japanese landed at Hitu and at another place in the beginning. The Australians held out for a while at Benteng, a military post suburb of Ambon. Then they surrendered (I think there were more than two thousand of them). They were put in a camp at the Tan Toei Chinese cocoanut plantation near Gaspersz' place (now a Dutch and Australian war cemetery there) and also in Gaspersz' land. They were taken to work at Laha and Liang air-

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

T It is very interesting to hear the bahasa
197 tanah [the local language], which is used most often in the Hitu kampong. Even the children speak it. It is practically the same as on Ceram, and it's certainly far from Malay. It is the language of the family names and place names here and that is why they are hard for me to remember. It sounds completely alien.

582 The Radja said that adat is kept much more in
178 Mohammedan than in Christian kampongs and Gaspersz
182 agreed. Still, some things are not that way. For example, the Christians keep the old taboo (?) on family endogamy (Can this be? If so it is very interesting. [RK says yes later on]) more than the Mohammedans, who follow agama rules only. But even the Christians have to change somewhat in this regard. For example, there are so many of the Soumokil clan in Saparua that they have to inmarry.

505 From here one can see Ceram clearly. It is mountainous and only about twelve miles, or three hours and fl. 2.00, from here by dugout. Motor boats leave here for there and Saparua and the other islands.

161 This is the biggest negri in population in
361 Ambon Island. The population is about four thousand. Nearly all the houses are along about three parallel streets along the shore. But the Radja says that the inland areas have Binongko (from Buton) living with their gardens.

[764] We talked about things like funeral customs
124 and the Radja told me that many of the old practices remain despite Mohammedanism. He asked me a keen question when he asked me whether I favored keeping the old adat or changing. I dodged. He reads papers and is interested in
668 politics. For example he told me how progressives in East Indonesian circles such as the East Indonesian parliament are speaking against

A T
583 up. There is a lot of elopement here. It is called lari bini. Sometimes this occurs in order
A to avoid the cost of a feast, but often it is to
[578] avoid the bride's parents' opposition. The latter often get very angry and may even lead the
A parties concerned into knife fights.
691 I understand that there are many cases here
423 over disputed land boundaries, especially be-
578 tween negri, but also over smaller area boundaries. Rehatta says that there are piles of them in the office. He also said that an Ambonese will seldom fight to kill, but that over land disputes concerned with boundaries he may do so. (Thus the land business begins to emerge.)
C
A In my notes on Ceram I see that the chiefs
585 there get pieces of cloth at weddings. This is
197 precisely what happens on Ambon. Where do they get this notion about no more old culture in Ambon? The fact is that it is Ceram culture, and probably Patasiwa. Certainly the language is the same. And when I look from Tulehu across
A the bay to Ceram nearby I see that Ambon Island
[131] and the others are mere off-shore islands of Ceram.

A Soa membership is entirely patrilineal, although
611 it is said that they have ambil anak too, and if
614 there are no girls they may adopt a boy into the
597 soa, like the Batak.

A Time after time the Radja pointed out how adat
182 wins out over agama here. This is especially
764 true in regard to the funerals. When I get these
178 men loosened up, it is remarkable how they talk about the old ways living on. They know every-
[114] thing in my notes. Even Riedel[1] seems to be not bad here!

A I have heard several times how Ambonese put a
273 deer embryo into the koolwater (one Dutchman says
825 that kool means alcohol) to make it strong. It

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113 -- Analyst]

124 T
622 of gin. He drinks a lot in Ambon too and does
[273] this in public. Evidently the Mohammedans here do not care much about the taboo against drinking. Or at least he doesn't. There are lots of hadji here, and one of them had been in the United States for a long while. He had also been elsewhere and speaks many languages including American English. The general air that surrounds the Radja[1] is one of strength and good
[769] spirit. Once, when I asked him the date of the mulut feast, (when they kill fowls for the ancestors) he called across the street to an old fellow in order to get the information. He orders the people around here and they seem to like it. He is a very strong man and extremely independent. He insists on working with me and the assistant has little chance of working with me alone. The Radja orders him to get my work done.

769 This Mulut feast, he says, used to be cele-
825 brated by everyone, but now not so many people
●178 do it. I get the idea that for each family member one fowl is killed. Before the head of the fowl is cut off they whisper to it (evidently a message to the ancestors? or is it like the minyan request at Lebaran in Java?).

778 This kampong, probably the only one of its
565 kind, has two negri lama in the hills behind.
173 The first settlers descended from one of these, but the descendants from the second one came down and became the nobles. Could this be conquest? He said at first that the first settlers had nobility too but that theirs was swamped by later settlers. He said that he came from the later group, of course. He said that the second group had a mosque before they descended. This means that in the negri lama there was a mosque.
[616] I think this must be unique. I must get the names of the two "moieties."

[1] [i.e., of Tulahu -- Analyst]

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463 Amahusu: I asked about jobs here and the
162 assistant said that forty per cent of the people were working in Ambon as tukang. This term is generally applied to wage workers who are not coolies. It implies those who work in camps, offices, hospitals, etc. He said twenty per cent are farmers, and twenty per cent are fishers. The rest have various occupations and do different types of work.

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124 Tulehu: I started working with the schedule. It looks as though I will have to make them follow my questions if I am to get much systematic material. It turns out that the assistant is not very smart or well informed, but the Radja is really very much up on things Ambonese.

565 In Tulehu there is not much localization by
178 class, although the Radja says there used to be.
621 Nevertheless, in circles around his house (in
596 eleven houses) live exclusively the members of
614 the Radja's family (extended). Also, in another section, all the people are still of a certain "clan" (I take it that this is near the pier), who the assistant thought were bangsawan rendah but who the Radja says are orang biasa. And the soa used to be localized but are no longer so treated. How can a local group be de-localized and still exist? This is an example of the peculiarities of Ambon. There are still kepala soa, but no more soa! I must check on this again. [see below.]

342 Fifty years ago the houses were bigger, says
178 the Radja. The size of the kampong has grown
361 since then, as is witnessed by the suburbs which
731 are starting up. The assistant says, and the Radja agrees, that in 1931 an earthquake laid the town in waste and the people had to move out. Then they moved back and rebuilt what structures they needed.

T

563 582 I wonder if it may not be that the man asks, and the assumption is that he must have been turned down by a local girl if he takes a Butonese wife. [154] He also said that a man who is not satisfied with life might go off to the hills and settle down with a Butonese girl.

668 521 We talked about politics. He said he thought that if Ambon, Minahasa, New Guinea, and the Moluccas were separate from Java they would have to remain poor. He agreed with me in everything. And he said that many people in Ambon thought this way. I think that perhaps the young people are pro-RIS while the old folk and the nobility are for a separate state associated with the Dutch, because they know that the new day would spell an end to their privileged status. Everyone is very careful in talking, except in confidence.

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423 425 621 623 [184] Amahusu: I went back there in the afternoon. What a run this is! We began by talking about the dati rules in Tulehu and the assistant said that he was sure that the rotating system[1] is true in Eri, Latuhalat, etc. He agreed that my theory that it is followed by the Christian and not by the Mohammedan kampongs is probably true. Thus I have a fairly good check (without checking every kampong in Ambon). He also said that in Amahusu they may sell trees but not land. He said that if by some chance there were ever a question of selling any part of the negri land, even the saniri could not decide on this. There would be a tremendous to-do, and there would have to be what he called a saniri besar, that is, a meeting of every person (man?) in the kampong.

197 178 There is no more bahasa tanah in Leitimor, and even the very old people do not know it. Of course there are a few songs that still retain bahasa tanah words.

[1] [i.e., of land cultivation--Analyst]

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794 church fair was going on and a huge crowd had
541 amassed. The assistant was selling tickets for the evening play (Bible theme) to be put on by the children in the church. I asked why he was doing this aside from the church fund. He said that it was to keep alive the bonds which tie together the negri. Later I saw the stage, with a sheet for a curtain and leaves and flowers for decoration. They were practicing in the rear.
[554] Here as in Latuhalat (and in every kampong, I
[565] guess) the Radja's family has a raised pew to the side of the pulpit. I asked about the little
231 pig I had seen on the way. He said that a few
438 were coming in and that before the war there were a lot and that he had had some. But during the war most of them were eaten. Now the Nila praus are coming in bringing new pigs. These Nila praus come in, up to ten a year, and are big and fine. They also bring fruit. Incidentally, I am now seeing quite a few ducks.

484 Few trips were made outside except to Ambon.
167 There is not much curiosity about the outside world. And when villagers return there are no special feasts in honor of them. They simply come back.

578 In the old days the traditional enemies of
721 the local folk were the inhabitants of Eri. The
476 assistant had heard about head-hunting and we got onto the idea of magic, but it was really a long time ago here. In this respect these matters are quite different here from what they are in Tulehu. Whereas Eri was an enemy, a mountain negri near Soya (I must get the name) was and is the pela partner of Amahusu.

178 In the last fifty years there have been few
206 changes in communications except for the road.
491 There is no telephone in the kampong now. The
000 line stops at Benteng. Before the war a telephone

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Before the war a telephone
206 line ran to the Radja's house here. To the north
205 of Ambon the line goes to Halong. There is no telegraph office here. There is, however, a regular daily mail. There are three mail-carriers who go to Ambon every day, get the mail, and come out on bicycles, all the way to Latuhalat. They even go by foot up to the high mountain kam-
[207] pongs, every day. There is not a single radio
[365] here, nor any signs of electricity.

202 The marinyo are the messengers for the offi-
624 cials. They even bring official messages from
465 Ambon. There is one marinyo for each soa, in addition to one extra marinyo, making four in all. They receive no pay, but they are tax-exempt!
366 There is no market place here although the church is a center for get togethers and so is the co-operative store (the old general store stuff).

203 There are no local authorities on the news
474 front here. They do not seem to be much inter-
[829] ested in hearing about travel or things on the outside. But I wonder.

The government sends bulletins which may be posted and the Information Office sends a sheet for wall distribution. But there is no place for the latter in the kampong. They are often posted in the cooperative. The people manage to see them, nevertheless. It looks as if the co-op might become the center of things here, which would be in line with the very close bonds within the kampong.

829 There are not many kinds of news in which the
● 178 people here are very much interested, although they do seem to be quite interested in East Indonesian news, especially recently, and also in Indonesia. But certainly there is not much interest in international happenings. In fact, I gather that these people have been so confined to Indonesia that they scarcely know about the out-

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829 side world. Their world has been the Dutch world.
178 Later on, a smart young boy burst out that in
school he always learned about Holland although
it was small and unimportant. Why did they not
learn about other countries? This is clearly a
weakness of the Christian community here. They
are still "schutters" [marksmen] for the Dutch.
I doubt if they know as much about international
matters as the Buginese. They have been educated
and trained, but only to think with and as the
Dutch.

There have been few changes in the outlook of
[181] the kampong on the world at large in the last
fifty years. Even the last war left them provin-
cial. (Maybe that is a good title for the Ambon-
ese section, "The Land of Provincialism." It is
too clumsy, but nevertheless in line.)

Since everyone has been in school, they are
all clear about the position of Ambon in Indonesia.
In fact they are very good on local geography.
In contrast, they are very poor on world geography.
Could this be the Dutch again, keeping the world
out?

Although the three men here (obviously schooled,
especially one, a firebrand; the assistant is the
dumbest) knew about the population of Indonesia,
they said that very few in the kampong knew this.
They are surprisingly good on ranking the national
populations of the world, but were impressed that
Indonesia is number eight in the world. They
never thought of it like that. The bright one
corrected me on the figures connected with Dutch
and Japanese populations in the prewar period.
He said they were twelve million and ninety million.
I am sure he is wrong, but why argue?

186 They say that there is no boasting in regard
to locality and I think he is right. It is simply
absent here. They never would think of "pulling
a Brooklyn."

A

000 a Brooklyn."

[578] 621 608 As above, Eri is said to be the old-time enemy and a mountain kampong is this kampong's pela partner. Incidentally, the festa negri is to "bikin pela panas" (that is, to renew pela bonds) and all pela partners attend. I must check to see if this is exactly right. They seem to have no special feelings against any group, except for [563] the economic drive which expelled the one poor Chinese. As far as I can see there is very little [186] dissatisfaction in the village. The people are too provincial to see that the place is a dump.

769 782 775 The role of ancestor worship is still very strong. In discussing this we had a long talk on the ancestor cult. The smart man said that most of the folk believe in ancestral spirits. They are supposed to come and do certain things in the area and the whole kampong goes to the negri lama on great occasions to ask for their help. [526] They believe that the ancestors hear them. Thus if they have a big paddle race (boat crews) they go to such a spot and implore the help of their ancestors. This is true for other big events. But evidently they do not do this individually. No personal pilgrimages. There are lots of [773] stories about the ancestors and there are stories about the great founder ancestors who came from Celebes. There is no sky descent here. The assistant has collected a lot of stories written down by a teacher in Eri. He will copy them for me.

I am impressed at the way the smart man insisted that the ancestor cult is still very strong. My assistant acted skeptical but admitted it. I must get more about this.

769 197 ●178 Regarding the ancestor cult, the smart man made a good remark and applied it to the whole question of how adat is kept much better in Hitu ~~than~~ here

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769 in Leitimor. He said that when the bahasa tanah
178 goes, the adat and the other old things tend to
197 go too. The bahasa tanah is certainly the vehicle for the old things.

574 On the way to Tulehu in the morning, I was hailed at Paso and a crowd of women and others asked to be taken to Tulehu as their bus had broken down and they were going to get a boat on the way to Saparua. They said they were returning the day after tomorrow, and that they had relatives there. Visiting in this fashion is evidently a common thing. The term for relatives
[601] that they used is turun menurun.

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124 Tulehu: The Radja was there today and I
622 talked with him for a long time. The police officer from Ambon came in at the end so that I had very little time to go on with the schedule. But I got a lot of information from our talk. I was able to clear up the soa-dati details on which Gani had been confused. This shows that the complexity here is hard even for the scribe of the village. But the Radja knows always.

721 First the Radja denied that they had ever had
245 head-hunting here. He said then that he had heard
173 of it but that it had taken place a long long time ago. Then further he said that he had heard people say, "Sekarang musim potong kepala." (Now is the time to cut heads.) He says that they say this in Saparua too. The season for such activity evidently is the time of fruit plucking, that is of the cloves (and thus it is much like the post-harvest celebration elsewhere. Perhaps heads were required for feasts in the old days too.

000 The verified social organization is as follows:

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576 then the tuan tanah, then the kepala dati. To
624 his left are the imeum, hatib, modin, and guru
554 Islam. Then in a circle from these high places range on down the orang biasa. Thus the tuan tanah seems to be clearly outranked by the kepala soa.

778 The batu pemali in the kampong, on the site
202 of the baileo, is from Amantawari. The Eruwakang
534 stone is still at the negri lama in the hills.
624 The conch shells I saw on the stone are very old ones. They are known in the local language as taüreng and are no longer used for calling out to the people. Today they use the large drum on the radja's porch. The big gong there is not used any more. The drum is called tipa. If there is need to call all the people, for example to work on the mosque or for some big event, a steady fast beat is given. There are three other calls. A beat of five means that the four kepala soa are wanted at the radja's house. It is said to mean k-p-l-s-o. If the drum is beaten three times it means that the two marinyo are wanted and it means m-r-n. This looks like a system of drum telegraphing based on the non-vowel Arabic spelling. If the beat is seven, it means the kepala soa of the month is wanted, and it means k-p-l-s-o-b-l (bulan). The reason for this is that each month, in turn, one of the kepala soa must stay in the kampong as a kind of vice-radja. If the radja is absent the kepala soa of the month is in charge.

624 I asked if a woman might occupy any of the
622 official positions. He said that only in the last
562 ten years have women been able to succeed to the
178 position of radja, but only if there is no male successor. This is something new, but the question never arose before as there were always male successors. But (remarkable; can it be because of

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622 the loss of men in the war?) in the past ten
624 years, in lieu of male successors, woman radjas
562 have come in in Tengah-Tengah, Alang, and Rumah
178 Tiga. There may be others too. The tuan tanah may never be a woman.

563 I asked again about the Butonese marriage
582 matter. He said that it is true that a Tulehu
626 boy never marries a Butonese girl, but that the
558 reverse does take place. He himself said that the Butonese belong to a lower class, and saw the point that this reverses the usual rule. His idea is that the Tulehu girls who marry Butonese men are rejects who can't get Tulehu husbands. The people here look down on them and he thinks they are the ugly ones, etc. And they are not so condemned as a boy would be under similar circumstances because after all a girl cannot propose, and if a girl is getting on in years and has no husband, in desperation she may take a Butonese man. This may not be entirely her choice. But a boy can take the initiative. And this explains why Gani said that if a boy married a Butonese girl people would say that no Tulehu girl would have him. Perhaps it is as simple as this after all.

20 The only telephone in the area is the police post. It connects with Ambon and the line does not run beyond, for example to Waai. There is no telegraphic service. Mail comes twice a week, on Monday and Thursday. A mailman comes with a car. He also delivers to Suli and Waai. Other men deliver the mail to other places on Hitu. This fellow lives in Tulehu and his house is used as the post office where one can buy stamps and send letters. The one radio in Tulehu belongs to the Radja. It is a battery set as there is no electricity here.

202 The marinyo carry official messages. They call
624

A As far as I can see the relation between this
621 village and neighboring villages and districts
608 can only be described as friendly. The pela
476 system operates all over Ambon. Every negri
527 must have a pela partner. In the old days such pela partners helped in warfare. Nowadays they must render assistance wherever they meet. Every so often there is a festa negri (e.g. if a new school or church is built, etc.) and on such occasions the pela negri is always invited. Such festa negri last one or two days. The
[537] radjas orate about the old traditions of friendship and how they may never be broken. Anyone who wants to may attend, but usually there are about fifty or so, including the radja, the saniri, and notables.

Next month there is to be an installation of a new radja in Hatalai, the pela negri of Amahusu. Hatalai is located in the hills on the way to Naku. Everyone in Amahusu is invited.

There may not be more than one pela partner for each kampong. Other pairs are Eri-Hatiwi, Latuhalat-Alang.

582 Until about ten years ago it was taboo for
178 people to marry who were already in a mutual
608 pela relationship. Musila knows of two Amahusu men married to Hatalai women and two Hatalai men married to Amahusu women. He also knows of other cases from other pela pairs. This has only taken place within the last ten years; before this such marriages were taboo.

578 I asked if there was anything in the way of
173 ritual or otherwise to keep alive the traditional
178 enmity between Eri and Amahusu. Musila said no but he added that just as every negri had a friend in the old days he thinks every negri also had a traditional enemy. I commented that perhaps this was the hunting ground for heads. Anyway, Eri was the enemy here although there are no traces left except in the memories of some of the people.

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000 left except in the memory of some of the people.
535 I asked if the tjakalele war dance, led by a
178 war leader, a kapitan, might not be a kind of
292 "keeping up the war spirit" rite. He said perhaps. He added that the tjakalele was danced here until 1935 and that there are still plenty of people who could do it although the old costumes were lost in the Japanese time and will probably not be replaced nor the dance ever done again.

However, an Amahusu group did it on the entry of the last resident of Amboina, Jansen, in 1935. This was the last time it was done here. It is still done in this area and there are costumes in many of the negri here, especially in the hills, for example in Soya. Also in Hatalai.

344 There was a baileo here until 1938. It was not repaired and fell apart. They might like to build another, but that would cost a considerable amount. These baileo, as the Radja of Tulehu and his assistant describe them, are long, and empty, with low walls and a door. They were always kept closed except at infrequent, big occasions.

212 Musila has a book of handwritten legends he got from a teacher in Eri. He will write out the stories for me.

691 The only kind of legal cases that causes in-
423 tense feeling in Ambon is one over land boundaries. The court is filled with them. There is a case up at the present time. There are demarcation signs, and marks of land boundaries everywhere. There are markers in the hills. But still they have disputes.

609 To be "foreign" means to be non-Indonesian.
186 This is what Musila says. He says that all non-Indonesians are certainly strangers.

000 In general one can say that except for the

361 Soya is a mountain kampong five kilometers hard walk and ride from Ambon. Soyadibawah is in the city itself. Then halfway up to the main Soya is Kayuputih, where the lousy road ends. Then one walks on to Soyadiatas.

622 178 565 624 In the old days there were only three radjas in Leitimor: Soya, Nusanive (Eri), and Kilang. The only true hereditary radjas are in these places. The other negri rulers are orang kaya or patih, who were elevated to the radja position by the Dutch. Therefore, they are still a rank lower than the three big boys. The old organization was:

I. Soya (radja)
   - Halong (patti)
   - Hutumuri (orang kaya)
   - Rutung (orang kaya)

II. Nusanive (radja)
   - Latuhalat (orang kaya)
   - Silale (orang kaya)
   - Amahusu (orang kaya)
   - Seri (kepala soa)

III. Kilang (radja)
   - Naku (patti
   - Hatalai (orang kaya)
   - Hukurila (orang kaya)
   - Ema (orang kaya)

614 178 621 The soa of Soya were originally nine in number. Of these four have disappeared (as indicated by asterisk), thus:

*Honipopu (where the barracks are located today)
*Uritetu (Urimessing, where the hotel is located today)
*Amantelu (on the north side of town)
*Amanhusin
Tunisoa ("the real soa," of the radja)
Samusile
Soahitu (the people from Hitu)
Soaerang (the people from Ceram)
Soaperak

[See cat. 116, p. 91--Analyst]

614 621 178 [114] The two main soa(the original ones?) are Tunisoa and Soaperak.

Vroklage was probably wrong in stating that there were always five or nine soa in a negri.[1]

N

622 562 178 Rehatta says that Naku has a female radja. This is something new here, having occurred only during the last twenty-five years (in Hitu since about ten years ago only). Gaspersz resigned as he was too old to travel from Ambon to Naku frequently.

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773 114 Amahusu: The assistant said that men are supposed to have come from trees according to some of the old tales (can this be totemism, as Wouden implies?). The assistant laughed and said that in reading these old stories that he comes to wonder if his ancestors weren't a bit mad.

T

114 Tulehu: The Radja talked almost all of the time. I started with the material from Vroklage,[1] which he got from Holleman and Jansen.[1]

621 801 632 631 622 I asked about the uli, which he said were regular bonds of five or nine hena or negri. I was surprised when he said this was right, but he knows of no cases of nine. There are plenty of cases of five, however. He says this is the regular thing in Ambon. The uli to which Tulehu belongs, and this is typical, has a head negri, where the radja lives. Then there are two negri with patih and two with orang kaya. Thus for the uli Solemata:

Tulehu (radja)
Waai (patih) Suli (patih)
Tengah-Tengah (orang kaya)
Tial (orang kaya)

[1] [See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

A Amahusu: This afternoon I started to compare
801 notes with those taken in Tulehu. The uli busi-
178 ness got nowhere as the assistant had never
184 heard of it. This is another illustration of
[416] the loss, even in the memory of the people here,
of the old things as opposed to what is known
in Tulehu. He did say that the Nusanive-Latuha-
lat-Silale-Amahusu-Seri grouping had a name
(which he said was in the "agama" which in this
case may mean something Christian). He called
it ampat sarangkai (sarang in Malay means nest).
I asked him why ampat [four] and he said that
since Silale was so small it was reckoned within
Latuhalat. He had never heard of the five and
nine alignment, in fining, in placing of the
[501] stone, or in the outrigger attachments. He said
that both sorts of outrigger attachments are
used here.*

608 He said it is true that one can ask for any-
431 thing of a pela brother and get it although it
should be a reasonable request.

He also knew about the blood drinking.

614 Then I asked him about totemism and got a
773 real rise. We had just finished going over the
262 fam here (see below) and he said that as far as
825 he knew the only fam with a still practiced epony-
784 mous taboo is Tomasila, which is believed to be
descended from a gurita fish. Until the present
time members of this fam do not dare eat gurita.
[591] As we talked Musila's mother who was standing by
listening (note the patrilocal residence) sudden-
ly called out to an old woman who was passing by,
"Hey, you can't eat gurita, can you?" Then,
laughing, she said, "That woman is a Tomasila."
There may be other taboos, and he knows there
are stories about descent from trees, animals,
and fish; but all he knows about is the Tomasila
one, and his mother too knows only of that one
example.

* [I.e., the Wilima & Ulisiwa used different methods of attaching outriggers; one tied the strings in a U-shape & the other in an O-shape]

A

582 two cases of a breach of this taboo but there are
614 really disgraced. He knows that this is not a
565 Christian law, but it is a very strict matter in
684 adat. One must not marry a person with the same
[551] name even though they may come from another negri and not be related so far as is known. So long as the name is different everything is all right, even though you may be first cousins. He says that this taboo exists in all Christian kampongs. This is an old time thing which the Christians keep up. I asked about the four cases of pela intermarriage. And I told him of the death of the man who married the Alang rani. He then said that one of the two couples who breached this taboo in Amahusu had a child who died. People fear this very much and usually do not dare attempt it. This case reinforces the belief of those who might have doubted it. Thus again accident supports superstition.

871 The educational system here has not changed
563 much in the last fifty years. There has been a
178 lower school here during all of that time. At least within the last twenty-five years there has been compulsory education for six grades for
[656] all Ambonese. This year it became compulsory also for the Butonese. There are now about twenty Butonese children in school. This new law seems to reflect a decision made in the council because they considered there were too many illiterates in East Indonesia, for example on Buton.

871 Not one person from this kampong has studied at a university. Up to about twenty students from this kampong have gone to MULO. This they attended in Ambon. It cost fl. 8.00 per month. There are about ten students from here attending the middle school in Ambon. This costs fl. 3.00 per month. There are also private schools at this level, like the one Pupella has. Musila

T

668 developed. They simply can't get over their
622 paternalism. Nothing will teach them. Today
625 the Radja said, "Remember how the police said
[212] we couldn't have freedom because we are so illiterate?" This hurt, evidently. I said, perhaps dangerously, that when the United States became free it was perhaps seventy per cent illiterate and that when Holland got out from under Spain it was even more so.

829 In general outlook there has not been much
178 change in the last fifty years on the part of the
186 people living in Tulehu except in one very important way. The war and especially the recent Indonesian troubles have caused an unprecedented interest in things Indonesian. They have had trouble but it has forced them to open their doors a bit wider.

823 Geographical knowledge does not extend very far.
439 They all know about the negri, though relatively
484 few of them are really clear on the whole of Hitu. They do know in which direction the other negri are and they know the nearby ones very well. Leitimor is foreign to most of them and even the assistant was not clear as to the location of Soya. In fact they know far more about Ceram and Saparua than they do about Leitimor as their trade and travel tend to run to the former and seldom to the latter. They know the general locations of the various Indonesian islands, but not perhaps even most of them. They are not too clear on the relative size of these islands, however. The world at large is a closed book. This is beyond them.

621 There is no boasting about the home town here.
186 This I find to be true in all the areas so far.

I asked about the other kampongs, especially
574 Waai. The Radja said that he had plenty of ac-
621 quaintances there but that they were really not

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665 668 be another one today. The parties here so far as I can see are the PTB (Timor Besar), the PMR (Maluku Raya), and the PIM (Indonesia Merdeka). The first favors autonomy within the RIS, the second favors becoming a part of Holland like Surinam (twelfth province), and the last favors joining the Republic. I was told that if there is a plebiscite the Dutch would win. Minahasa has about the same division.

871 ●178 [563] Only since 1930, I believe, has there been a school here and only recently has attendance been compulsory. Now this is true even for the Butonese. Aside from this, however, there has not been much change in the last half century. A new school is being built now, and above all the young folk are hot for education, much more so than their elders were. No students from here have gone to a university and none of the local people has studied at a secondary school such as the HBS. Seven from here are now at the middle school in Ambon. Also, there is a vervolgschool [continuing school] here for five years in addition to the six years of the lower school. There are about fifty students enrolled in the former now. When Gani went to the vervolgschool (and he used this word in speaking Malay) it was located at Waai. Thirty per cent of those under age thirty have probably studied in an elementary school. Very few of the older people have done this. No one here has left the local community to study elsewhere.

T & A

871 794 [875] There are at least ten afternoon Koran schools run by the gurus. Boys and girls go to these afternoon sessions to learn how to read the Koran, although they do not learn how to write Arabic. The guru gets paid once a year. These schools are called sekolah mengadji.

T & A

871 Today all of the young folk want to get as
185 much education as possible for themselves and
794 their children. In the old days there was some
178 fear of schools, although this does not apply to
the Koran schools which have been here for a
long time and were considered all right. The
schools were feared because it was thought the
children might lose their religion by attending.
Furthermore they did not trust them anyway. This
was probably another example of the usual wariness
of Mohammedanism in a Christian-ruled land. And
[562] parents were particularly against having their
daughters attend school. Even now they feel bet-
ter about their boys attending school than about
their girls going. They feel that at the most
the lower school education is enough for girls.

In Amahusu the people also favored more school-
[184] ing for boys than for girls but there is not quite
so much difference there and most of them want as
much education as possible for girls too. This
is not so in Tulehu.

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871 I asked if they feared sex, and he said that
834 they thought of things like a girl getting notes
562 from boys and slipping them into her dress. This
evidently symbolizes romance and freedom for the
girl, which simply does not exist in Mohammedan
areas.

578 The uneducated feel inferior but try to cover
156 this up by a brave front. They show this, how-
291 ever, in their sensitivity and in their attempts
554 at ridicule of the fine dress and manners of the
educated. The latter dress better and act better.
Gani says you can see at once whether a person
is educated or uneducated. There seems to be a
bit of trouble on this point here, which is un-
like the situation in Amahusu, probably because
there are plenty of survivors from the days of
illiteracy and they feel ill at ease and somewhat
inferior

000 A conch shell, a drum, and a gong are all used to call the ancestors. Every negri has a baileo. Every negri also has the tjakalele and costumes to go with it. The seven negri form an uli.

The negri themselves were often formed of an uli of five soa or aman. These ulilima were always comprised of five soa. There are no definite marriage relations between the fam here. Some are pairs of wife-exchanging fam; others are triads. The unusual thing in such cases is that any one of the three may marry into any other of the three, regardless of sex. Thus it is clearly not a one-way rotating system, but merely a group of three intermarrying fam.

177 182 The more I hear of Ambon the more I am astonished at the retention of the complex adat here by a completely "Westernized" and "Christianized" or "Mohammedanized" people. This must be one of the most remarkable cases of such phenomena in the world.

778 789 Ambon: Rehatta says that the Haruku negri (which ones?) still have very large holy jars. These jars are kept in a separate room in the house. And they are kept by themselves. They are believed to possess great magic power and people fear disturbing them. In the prewar period there were many of these holy jars in Ambon too. This is amazing. From his gestures, always expansive, they must have been (and are) six feet high and three feet in diameter, more or less woman-shaped.

245 In checking over the notes on Ambon, Rehatta says it is true that there is no shooting or shouting in the clove groves when the cloves are 1304 flowering. There is no tooth filing, although 178 Rehatta thinks that this was done before. Uti-286 uti cloth is no longer made. It was made of mixed thread, that is, made from strands of pineapple, ramie, and cotton fibers. His grandmother

286 178 made such cloth on a simple loom. He said there was no comb used.

303 There is still a little perfume made locally, although much more was made in former times.

576 Rehatta had never heard of women rubbing their noses.

178 844 114 [843] Rehatta says that most of the taboos on pregnant women and those concerning pregnancy found in Riedel are still practiced. For example, a pregnant woman always carries a knife if she goes out. The umbilical cord is still tied with thread made of pineapple fiber, and the cord itself is still cut with a bamboo knife. They still bury the placenta in a cocoanut shell or in a pot. Flowers are planted over the spot. Damar brands are no longer burned for seven nights as was done before. In some places, for example, a few families in Soya, the placenta is thrown into the sea. As Riedel says, the bearers go straight to the sea, speaking to nobody and looking straight ahead. Rehatta saw such a group coming down from Soya recently and knew at once what was up.

561 887 496 171 368 575 Ambon: Rehatta says that every negri has not only youth groups under kepala ngungare and kepala djodjaro, but also old men's and old women's age-grades, called upu-upu matahina and upu-upu ama. They each have a kepala too. If work needsto be done one can ask the kepala of any one of these and the work will be done free. They even bring their own food. Unlike the situation in Elpaputi, these age-grades in Ambon have no club houses.

773 The girl mentioned above[1] who appears from time to time, was the only daughter of Latu Silimau, the first Radja of Soya. For many generations, in fact until the present radja's generation, there was only one daughter per family in the Rehatta fam.

[1] [See also cat. 116, p. 132--Analyst]

624 T
789 the asker must pay something for the information,
791 and this gift is called hadia. Gani tells all of this quite seriously.

829 Then we went on to the schedule, with the imeum
186 listening in. He would always bring up agama rules and seemed scandalized at hearing of Minangkabau matrilineal practices and the pots on the Buginese and Makassarese mosques. Prohibited.

197 In Tulehu one hundred per cent of the popula-
191 tion can speak the local language. The only
178 exceptions are the adult immigrant Javans, Butonese, Chinese, and Arabs. The children of
563 these learn the local language too. About sixty per cent speak Malay and everyone under thirty years of age can do so. Fifty years ago very few people here could speak Malay. The school seems to be the main reason for this change.

The only people who can speak Dutch are the Radja, three gurus, and two soldiers. This totals six. I can see that the Radja is not too good at it. The hadji sailor and the four sailors who lived before in Singapore, making five in all, can speak English.

563 There was one Arab family here and there are
871 about ten who attended the Arab school which was set up until the teacher, an Arab, died. It was called "Sekolah Medras." Now, if one wants to learn Arabic, he must go to the Arab school in Ambon. There are five individuals from Tulehu now. Later on they become gurus.

212 Sixty per cent of the people in Tulehu can read and write Malay. Only six can read Dutch. Only about forty can read and write Arabic. One hundred per cent of the population, male and female, can read the Koran. Only about ten, however, can understand its meaning. However, Gani insists that one hundred per cent can read

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212 and understand the meaning of the Kitab rules. These are short and simple.

217 204 212 517 There is no library here now, although during the prewar period there was a lending library in the school at Waai. One paid fl. 0.15 per week to use one book. Gani used to borrow books and says that many people would borrow them if they had such a library here now. There is no bookstore. Only about ten people read newspapers, mainly Ambonese newspapers, regularly (more or less). There are practically no books in Tulehu.

212 205 Gani says there is a lot of letter writing. "Why," he said, "mail comes twice a week, and each time there are thirty to forty letters for the people here!"

871 191 563 There are ten Koran schools. Formerly, as indicated above, there was an Arabic language school.

Alien children learn the local language and Malay. Alien adults learn to speak Malay but not the local language.

185 563 212 871 All adults want their children to learn to read and write. This is a change from the old days when the adults were suspicious of the schools. Even the Butonese want their children to read and write now. There is one Butonese teacher in Ambon and other Butonese are now rising.

207 546 517 The Radja has a radio (it probably doesn't work). There are no movies. However, at the end of the war for about three months the Australians here had open air movies and they are still remembered. When the people from here go to Ambon they often attend the movies.

178 489 205 377 New technological changes in the last fifty years in Tulehu include the road, automobile, the motorboat, the telephone in the police post,

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178 mail by automobile (it was brought from Saparua
205 by boat before), and until it broke down just
377 before the last war the Radja had an electricity
489 plant run on gasoline. It is still in a shed in his yard. He sold current at so much per watt. Thus if you used a 60 watt bulb, the price would be fl. 6.00 per month. Not more than one hundred houses had electricity, and there could not have been much expansion because
[342] the plant was small. There are still no tin
[206] roofs at all. There is still no telegraph. In all, there is little change.

286 Before the war evidently there was no weaving
177 and no memory of weaving, but the Japanese brought in a few small looms and some of the women still use these for making tablecloths from pineapple fiber thread. He said they do not have a comb in the loom, but he probably doesn't know much about this. Anyway, weaving is no art here. The only kind of spinning done is that of pineapple fiber into thread and this is done only rarely.

323 There is no pottery making here and evidently no good earth for ceramics. Such earth is found in Saparua.

326 There are two smiths, one from Tulehu and the other a Javan. I visited the shop of one. They make bush knives (parang) and small parts.

[335] There are many carpenters in Tulehu. There is no gold and silver work done locally. Traveling smiths come from Saparua for this type of work.

287 There is no bark cloth here today and no memory of it.

262 So far as diet is concerned there have been
178 some innovations in the last half century. Butter is new and so is cheese. The children
[853] use very little milk. If the mother is dry, a wet nurse is employed.

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262 wet nurse is employed. The people eat much more
178 rice today than they did before and use a fair
amount of canned corned beef, although they prefer fresh to canned fish. All in all, there has not been much change, except perhaps for the fact that they now eat more rice.

[439] Cloth is the only important and indispensable import. The degree of economic self-sufficiency has not changed much in the last fifty years here, but rice has become a more important import, in that it is not grown locally. It is
178 considered a "fine food," for feasts, etc.
342 There has been no change in the style of houses here.

178 The dress of women has changed to some de-
291 gree. Formerly a long kebaya was worn and to-
784 day the short Javan type is more common. Men have changed from wearing the sarong to pants, but old folks still use the former. Also, the men wear European shirts. The imeum says that shorts are taboo is Islam, but this makes no difference to the youth.

439 There have been no changes in the export and
366 import figures for most of the economic items used in the community. There is no market in Tulehu.

493 Ten people living in Tulehu own buses. Be-
472 fore the war the Radja had a motorboat but it was wrecked. Only four people in Tulehu owned buses in the prewar period. In Tulehu about one hundred people know how to drive a car. Almost all travel here by automobile is done in buses.

423 In the last fifty years there has been very
178 little change in the property system. There are dati dusun (including sago and garden lands), family land (pusaka, including sago and garden lands). The latter are developed from waste

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423 178 land by individual men. Indeed, there is more of the latter than the former today! Thus we note a trend toward individualism. If the family dies out, its pusaka land goes to its dati. If the dati dies out, the dati dusun go to the negri. No kind of land can be sold. However, trees may be sold or rented. And the dati, with the consent of all members (anak dati) may rent dati land. Land may thus be owned by negri, fam (dati), family, or individual. Thus there are all kinds of property in land. Praus are individually owned. Houses are family owned and this is considered as pusaka. The 428 591 house always goes to the eldest son who moves his family in when he marries. Thus there are usually two families in such a house. Gani, an eldest son, lives with his father and mother. Other sons may also live there if everyone is happy. The eldest son, however, is boss. If the wife is an only child, or if she has no brothers, the husband may move in with her. Thus there is a kind of "matrilocal" residence in such a case.

463 There is no specialization connected with age, sex, family or clan.

768 There are no restrictions caused by death.

465 178 Perhaps not more that two per cent of the population work for wages, and there has been little change in the last half century in this regard.

443 563 The six toko in Tulehu are owned by Chinese, one Arab, and one local shopkeeper. There are no other local businesses.

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624 769 124 Amahusu: I first asked about the tuan tanah and the other old offices. At present the tuan tanah (from Mainaki, the oldest fam) is a member of the saniri. He also calls the ancestors us-

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346 and hear the former when they are in Ambon.

178 There have been a few changes technologically
342 speaking in the last fifty years. There are
493 several zinc roofs in the community. Automobiles have now taken an everyday place in the life of Amahusu.

286 There is no weaving done at all and no memory
181 of weaving. One Amahusu man brought back an Aru wife and she had a backbar loom. Why don't these people learn, and make some pretty clothes? They are so dull. There is no spinning and no memory of spinning.

323 There are five potters, male and female.
326 There is good clay here. There is no smith and practically nothing else.

Canned meat and fish and milk have come in
262 in the last half century. The use of the first
178 two, especially in off seasons for fresh fish,
853 is notable. Children drink canned milk more than formerly, but it is hard to get without a doctor's prescription. Formerly, if a mother did not have enough milk, she got a wet nurse. Now this is not so much the case as they do not like to give or take milk to or from another.
[124] I couldn't quite get the reason for this. This old fellow is hard for me to understand. It can't be my Malay, because Musila is all right. Maybe the old man speaks Ambon Malay. Otherwise there has been not much change in the food situation.

244 There were many gardens fifty years ago, but
311 now there are very few. Then people supported
178 themselves to a large extent. Today they buy most of their food. They do not even use all the land that they have, and this is a great change.

178 Today they use shovels, hoes, forks, etc. He
412 is especially impressed by the use of forks.
[245] The digging stick was much used formerly. There is little Sago here.

A

000 is little sago here.
●178 The type of house built in this area has not
291 changed much. Women's dress has changed con-
[342] siderably. Fifty years ago all women wore the long kebaya or the special Ambon short badju, open, which is now worn by the men, for example, on Sunday. It is said that when they have the negri feast all the men and women wear these badju. This is not true today in Amahusu, as most of the people do not own this type of dress. It applies more to the hill kampongs like Hatalai. Many women still have the tjinela (Turkish slippers) but they are generally worn only at really big feasts and similar occasions. Until now the black costumes are still worn to church by ninety-nine per cent of the women (exaggerated?). The men, however, no longer wear the black badju. Even ten years ago almost everyone owned such clothing. The name of this man's costume is benian. There are many more shoes today, although they are seldom worn in the kampong.

[443] There is no market in Amahusu.

436 The monetary system has remained about the
794 same. I asked about the copper coins and they agreed that they are used especially for church collections. I know why. The three collections are rough, and with coppers they may give something each time. Musila says that they get a great load of coppers each Sunday.

493 No one owns a car in the area except the co-operative which has one truck. In the prewar period two people had cars. Only three people can drive a car and these are bus drivers. This may be another sign of peculiarity of this place. Everyone in the kampong uses buses.

423 There are three kinds of land property: negri, dati, family (pusaka). There is more dati land

623 T
565 elected but are named by the radja. Thus the radja
622 really rules the negri.

178 In the past ten years there has been a radical
666 and profound change from the old to the young
888 leaders. Formerly there was little confidence in
555 young leaders, but now even elders prefer younger leaders. This seems to be linked with education, as they now see that education is needed, and the most educated individuals are young. Almost all electors are young. This is a tremendous change.

665 Twenty per cent of the population claims no
182 party affiliation, sixty per cent are PIM, twenty per cent are PTB. The member of the "Dewan Maluku Selatan" from a Christian negri reported to be nearly one hundred per cent PTB, is PIM! The people there, as might be expected, do not like him. He is like Roosevelt in Hyde Park. All Mohammedan negri are PIM. More of the Christian negri are PTB, but a majority of them too are PIM. The Mohammedan enthusiasm for PIM is partly linked with a Mohammedan feeling for Java, etc., and partly because they never did have much feeling for the Dutch.

623 The saniri includes the radja, tuan tanah, four kepala soa, imeum, hatib, four modin, and five orang biasa named by the radja (at present including two kepala dati, but this need not be so). The named members are the tua-tua negri, or kaisisi.

641 Women may vote, but only about sixty per cent
562 do (this seems high to me). No women enter politics actively. Women do not talk politics. He says they are ashamed to talk up with the men. I pointed out the difference noted when talking to Christian women here. Until recently the women took absolutely no part in politics.

621 Each negri is absolutely independent in a
622 political way. Tulehu, the largest negri, has
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Fam	The Number of Kepala Dati i.e., The Number of Dati	The Number of Dati Dusun
Saliha	1	9
Akiaar	1	6
Matidaputi	1	7
Totals	14	103

There was an argument over the Waas fam. Musila thought it had dati but the other lad said no. It is not on the list. They have garden plots but no dati.

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In prewar times party affiliations existed but were kept secret. There has been a trend toward elective offices, even for the radja. Before, this was hereditary.

In the last fifty years there have not been any serious changes in the traditional system of the local government. Long before some offices were lost, for example, that of malessi.

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789
The only real bangsawan is the radja family, and this is evidently felt rather weakly today. There is no belief in the magic power of the radja at all.

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There is no organized party here. Musila says that seventy-five per cent of the people are in favor of PIM, but they are outwardly neutral. This is largely because so many in the kampong are pensioned soldiers and do not want to hurt themselves. I found out later that there is a bit of fear on their part that they might have to fight. These soldiers are an explosive element in Ambon. Every day, however, more of them shift to the PIM viewpoint. If they were assured a pension from RIS, PTB would lose them
665
all. There is no kepala PIM here. I asked about

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624 178 622 614 666 The offices of tuan tanah and kapitan are hereditary from father to son. Formerly this was true also of the office of radja and so were the offices of kepala soa. Nowadays the radja is an elective post, but he must be chosen from the Silooy fam or from its related fam, Da Costa. Thus the radja is hereditary within the fam. When a new radja is to be chosen because the old radja dies, or, I suppose, resigns, a saniri besar is called and all the negri folk, men and women, come to the negri office. There is a printed ballot with the candidates' names on it, and each one marks his choice and signs his name! The kepala soa is elected every four years. Formerly this job was hereditary. All anak soa meet and elect him by a voice vote, not a ballot. However, this must be within the kepala soa fam. Thus, like the office of radja, it is still semi-hereditary.

The kepala kewang, who is a member of the saniri, is elected every four years also, and here all negri gather for voting. Again it is a voice vote, not by ballot. The kepala kewang may be from any fam and thus the position is not hereditary at all. The other kewang are chosen by their soa. Each soa meets every four years to elect their kewang.

623 624 178 666 614 Every four years the two orang biasa members of the saniri are elected by the whole negri. This is also done by a voice vote without ballot. Also, every four years the kepala tukang (now Musila himself), a sort of public works supervisor, is elected by the whole negri. He may be elected from any fam, and again the voting is by voice vote, not by ballot. Thus one can easily see a terrific trend toward elections here. These are tough lads, and it must be hard to be chief here.

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623 The saniri here includes nine members: the
666 radja, tuan tanah, kapitan, kepala kewang, three kepala soa, and two orang biasa. Voting for electors for the Senate member here is like the setup in Tulehu, but this place has only nine hundred-odd inhabitants and therefore only two electors. They write in two names.

178 At first they said there had been no change
665 in the age of politicians before the war. This
561 would make Amahusu different from Tulehu, where at once they said that the leaders today were much younger. When I pointed out Pupella, in his thirties, and others who were his age, they agreed that perhaps there had been a shift in the direction of younger leaders. It seems that the real reason Musila did not give me much of an answer here at first is that since there is no political organization in the kampong there are no leaders. In Tulehu, with a political party organization, there are real leaders, and those in the PIM are young.

Pupella is a here also because he helped so much in getting food during the days of starvation near the end of the war. Gaspersz indeed must be popular today because he was elected to the dewan.

563 I see an amazing picture here: in Java,
729 Celebes, etc., one sees the Dutch clinging to RIS and fawning on Indonesia to get pensions from them; here in Ambon the soldiers are holding fast to the Dutch in order to get pensions from them. The question: Pension, pension, who's got the pension?

665 These lads insist that PMR is nothing and has practically no members. They say everyone knows it is a cover for PTB, and the leaders are PTB men. This may be why I never find any members. It is a shadow party, perhaps built up by wary

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665 PTB-ers who want a refuge when PTB folds up.

The Tulehu Radja says that if he doesn't keep jabbing them, the PTB will die. Thus this ties in with a statement I heard earlier to the effect that every day more soldiers change over.

Although there is no party organization here, seventy-five per cent of the people are PIM voters.

562 The women do not take part in elections of
666 kepala kewang, soa kewang, kepala soa, or saniri
624 members. (Note that all these are voice votes.)
423 Women take part in kepala dati voting only if
178 they are heads of families, that is, for example,
622 if they have no father or brother to act for the family in this important economic matter.

Women can and do vote, one hundred per cent in elections for the radja and for electors and for dewan members. These latter three choices are all made by ballot votes.

Note also that the kampong elections are adat matters and old. The men only are concerned here. The radja is an exception, as the balloting for him is a new angle. The balloting for electors and dewan members is indeed new. Thus, as in American occupations, women enter into brand new things, where there is no tradition to keep them out (the famous case of the typewriter and women taking it over). However, as yet there are no women active in politics here.

665 Note: And this is good: I said to the Ama-
208 husus lads that the Tulehu Radja had told me that PTB had thirty-five thousand members. They snorted and said, "That's a lot of propaganda." I hear this word everywhere. The Radja says PIM is a lot of propaganda. This idea of skepticism has swept the country. Both parties shout, "Propaganda!" at each other in true European or American style. "Propaganda" is now a Malay word!

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582 429 The people here now follow Mohammedan incest rules and the old taboos are largely out. For example, I note many fam endogamous marriages which never occur in Amahusu. I asked about cousin marriage, and at first thought I had something, as he pointed out a case of a man married to his mother's brother's daughter (anthropologists jump at the term). He said that this is allowed, but then went on to say that the father's sister's daughter is also allowed. And also the father's brother's daughter and the mother's sister's daughter! In fact, all cousins are allowed! In fact, he said they like close marriages, [422] because the harta and pusaka are kept in the family. Especially liked are marriages between a man and his father's brother's daughter, as then the property is kept close, and he also said something about wali. This means guardian, and it was either that they like it because her husband could also be her wali, or because he could not be her wali. I must ask about this, but my memory was that they like it because he could be her wali. Not only this, but half siblings may marry if they have the same mother but different fathers. This is taboo if they have the same father but different mothers. Here again he said it was because either the husband could or could not be her wali. With the rule of exogamy gone, the only taboo marriages are: siblings, niece, nephew, grandchildren, half siblings with the same father (this may well be merely because of the emphasis on male descent), and, amazing in this loose system, milk siblings. This last is really remote, but they are taboo.

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Amahusu: In the last fifty years there has been much change in the realm of political thinking. Formerly there was practically nothing

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178 taught in regard to politics, but now the people
186 even think in terms of Indonesia, though largely
829 Ambon-centered. They are not yet internationally
668 minded. The idea of independent units of negri
182 is well rooted here. There is no thought yet of uniting them into larger units. And they are all equal, large or small. They know very well
[798] that as Christians they are going to be swamped in Indonesia, and they think Mohammedans, after years of being kicked around by the Christian majority here, are looking forward to the day when they will be of a majority in a united
[665] Indonesia. So far, however, there has been no attempt to form a Christian or a Mohammedan party.

648 The people here knew little about the details
829 of colonial government before. Even now they do
177 not talk about the abuses of the old colonial government, as do, for example, the Javans.

The feeling in prewar days was that Holland was the motherland, even though they knew it was small and poor (they noticed how Holland milked Indonesia). The Queen was felt to be their Queen. Religion held in common with Holland was a terrific bond, especially as the rest of Indonesia was mainly Mohammedan. I get the idea, however, that Ambon never thought much of the rest of Indonesia. The people here say, "We must never forget that the Dutch educated us." It is almost pathetic how often they repeat this. Perhaps here is a lesson for the Dutch on the value of education in keeping a colony. Also, the people here really like the Dutch. They see them as a bit snooty, but they like them. How different from Tulehu!

186 The Amahusu folk know very little about other
829 countries. They are too much concerned about local affairs to bother about such things. The

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563 the soldier who brings home a Javenese wife.
581 This is why I see practically no Indos in Ambon. I asked why there were no marriages between the Dutch and the Ambonese (evidently not even sex). I asked if the Dutch didn't like Ambonese girls, [142] or vice versa (I wonder if it is because the [186] Ambonese are not pretty?), but he says that it may be because Ambonese girls are so attached to the local districts from which they come that they won't take a chance of having to go to Holland or elsewhere with Dutch husbands. Also, he says that they never have had very many Dutch in Ambon. This is probably true. There are not many in the administration, as the Great East is small and the Ambon officials covered a lot of territory. Also, there was no Dutch garrison needed, because Ambon was comprised of all soldiers anyway and these men police the whole of the Great East and their own island too. But
563 then, I think, unlike Flores and Timor, not even
551 the Portuguese intermarried very much in the old days. This is a very different situation from what happened in Malacca. But now I wonder. Can it be that the easy-marrying Portuguese married Ambonese women or at least had sexual relations with them, and this accounts for the Portuguese names? Gaspersz and others say that the Portuguese "gave us" names, but maybe this is a cover-up or even a lack of memory. Gaspersz himself I thought was an Indo, and this may be because of the Portuguese blood which has been kept in his line. This may have been kept relatively pure in the Radja's fam because of endogamy. I must look up the Portuguese records if any.

582 People get married here at ages ranging from
178 twenty to twenty-five for both partners, usually. Eighteen is the usually quoted minimum age, but there are a few cases where the partners have

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582 been younger. However, eighteen is considered
● 178 young, even for girls. By twenty-five, most of them should be married and most are. For the girls, the upper figure is twenty-two. There are very few lifelong spinsters and bachelors. The man is usually older, and they express certain feelings regarding this. It is right that the man should be older, although there should not be too much disparity. If the girl is much older it is not considered good. The people here do not like too young marriages. He has the idea that it is not good for a man especially as he said it is bad for his health! There is a decided trend, however, toward younger marriages (as in the United States). And I think he gave me the answer for this in the United States too. He says this is because sex sophistication starts at a younger age today than it did before. In a sexual sense the people grow up sooner and know all about sex earlier. Thus they rush into marriage. They are marriageable in a psychological sense much earlier now. This is true in the United States, where girls begin having dates now at thirteen. This may be the explanation.

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848 Tulehu: I heard of a few cases of children born out of wedlock. One is in his[1] fam Kotta. A woman who is thirty-eight years old, never married but has three children. She sells merchandise in the market. His fam is ashamed of her, but she doesn't care. There is another case of a woman who is married to a man who accepts her and her bastard. Behind the Radja's house is a woman whose husband has been in Java for a long time. She is about to have a child.

[585] There is more polygyny now than before.
178 There has been no change in the price. There
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1 [i.e., the assistant's fam--Analyst]

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583 never has been much elopement in this area. If
178 a couple does elope, the two stay away for two or three weeks. If the parents favor them they stay in the man's house. If not they go to Ambon and get married. If the marriage is agreed upon, the wedding takes place in both houses. If there is an elopement the wedding ceremony takes place at the man's house only, because the girl's family is sore. The bride formerly had to give a sarong and badju to the groom's father; this is no longer so.

583 The bride price goes to the bride's parents. They share it with close relatives, and the price here includes also two bolts of white cloth, each bolt consisting of forty years of material. One of these bolts is for the bride's parents and the other is for her close relatives.

584 I got an extended account of the wedding arrangements. First the pair talk it over. If they agree they get their parents in on it. It seems that the initiative may come from the parents too, but the pair must be willing and no force is applied. The parents of both meet, the man's parents coming to the house of the girl's parents. Indeed, the close families of both meet here. If everything is O.K., the man's family's betel is accepted. This seals the bargain. They decide on the price and the day of the wedding. On the eve of the wedding day there is a feast at the groom's house. Only his relatives and the pair are there (Is this right? Is the girl there too?). Then all boys in the negri go around telling each house that the wedding will take place on the next day and inviting them and telling them to bring money. At 8 A.M. on the following day the people come and bring money. Each gift is announced and recorded, and food is given in return. They go

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584 home with the food.

[583] The family of the groom adds up the money. They take out the cost of the feast and the bride price and the rest goes to the groom. Thus if the total take is fl. 1500.00 and the cost of the feast was fl. 400.00 and the bride price fl. 500.00, the groom would get fl. 600.00. This is a very good way, he says.

On the evening of this day the boy's family come to the bride's house with the bride price. They eat and drink and then go home. Later all mosque officials and in-laws of the girl come to the groom's house and finally, the bride and her family arrive. No guests except the families and men from the mosque are there. No official Mohammedan wedding is held as in Atjeh. The [624] imeum records the wedding privately. This holds [217] for all Mohammedan negri in Ambon.

582 There is no more fam exogamy. He thinks there 614 was once a taboo on clan endogamy. But it went 178 out more than fifty years ago, as one can see from several cases of old folk inmarrying. Now many are endogamous. He thinks it is because the fam became so large that relationship became distant, whereas before the fam was small and the interrelationship of the members was close. This, however, does not explain the Amahusu retention of the taboo. It seems to be more a matter of Mohammedanism. He doesn't know whether the endogamy of the fam is increasing.

582 There is no question as to pela exogamy here [476] because the pela community, Paperu, is Christian. [608] The same holds for Tengah-Tengah and Asilulu. In other words, they can't intermarry anyway because the people in these other communities are Christian. I wish I had a case of a Mohammedan pela negri. I am sure there is no intermarriage. There is not much negri exogamy; ninety to ninety-

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582 five per cent of the local population still marries within the negri.

882 There is very little marriage outside of
563 Ambon. There are soldiers and sailors some of
[212] whom are away from Ambon at the present time, but there are not so many as there were before. Nevertheless, they write more letters than before. There are very few marriages with foreigners. There are no marriages with the Dutch, few with Arabs (this is very acceptable). The few who are married to Chinese are not considered so fortunate as those marrying Arabs. It is better if the Chinese turns Mohammedan.

582 The ideal age locally for a girl to get
178 married is eighteen and for a boy twenty. If a girl reaches the age of twenty-two it is considered late, and if she becomes twenty-five years of age without having been married it is of some concern to her relatives. It is not so bad if a boy is old before he gets married. I am told that marriage ages ran higher and that people were older before they married in the pre-war period. He has the same idea as the man from Amahusu in regard to the reason for the trend toward earlier marriages, i.e., that the people now mature earlier and know more about sex. As he says, the world goes faster now. It is bad if the groom is younger than the bride. There are very few people here who never marry.

561 Formerly they had the ngungare and the
476 djodjaro, the boys and girls youth age grades,
883 with kepala, from eighteen until the time they became married. This no longer is the case. They helped people in terms of labor and allowed them to have fun together. The age grade provided mutual help and friendship until death. They never had old age grades.

000 Most families and fam are very large. They

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174 614 582 necessary. This may be the way the Batak system grew up too. And it reminds me of the Hindus coming into Borneo, etc., and marrying the daughters of the old Indonesian chiefs and [562] building states. And note the symbolism: it is a woman of Lating who dresses as a radja. And then I have some notes on the unclear statement of the Radja in regard to how Lating women would come dressed as men in order to protect him if he got into trouble.

527 769 614 198 As for the aroha or arwha feast, this is also a fam affair, but only by members of the fam who are in the kampong. That is, members who are scattered elsewhere do not come as they do to the Lating feast. Every fam used to do it once a year. This custom is declining fast. Thus Mohammedanism and Christianity kill the old practices, but the latter does it faster. At the aroha, the ancestors are called by a member using a conch shell. Usually the kepala dati does it.

614 565 In regard to the ranking of fam here, the Wakang know they are slaves, but no one says it. Chorella folk are proud that they are of the radja fam. Lating is also proud. They are really old nobility and were radjas before Wakang. Also they are the largest group and feel strong. The Umarella, fam of the tuan tanah, have no special pride. The tuan tanah is really not a person of much rank. All other fam feel equal and ordinary.

562 [178] The status of women has not changed much here. They may be a bit less retiring now than they were formerly. There is only one girl from Tulehu who has become a teacher. Girls from here do not enter office positions. However, unlike the Buginese, the women mix in at feasts. The staying [565] in the rear of the house and keeping silent is seen especially among upper women (such as the Radja's wife).

[See cat. 116, p. 94 -- Amyst]

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587 dispose of personal property as she pleases.
428 Children get their father's anyway. For a widower inheritance of property and such relationships are easier as the system is patrilineal. A widow or widower remains on good
[606] terms with his in-laws. If there is a divorce, former in-laws are usually not friendly.

842 Children are desired by all. The people here are superstitious as to the possible causes of barrenness. The more children the better. They say that the more there are in the family the more there are to help in the gardens and to provide for those who have reached old age, etc. They do not yet have the idea of quality rather than quantity. They do have medicines used to prevent the birth of a child. The dukun and the old women know and tell the women how to make these. (They are probably no good.)

165 The average number of children per woman is
727 six, but only four of these survive. Gani thinks that women had more children formerly. During the Japanese time, he says, there were practically no children born, and many died. People were just not fertile then.

124 Note how much easier it is to work with this
157 Tulehu Mohammedan than with the Amahusu Christian. This is partly a personality difference, and Tulehu is a better place to work, but maybe also he is more open and not so scared to tell things I might consider pagan. The Christians are climbers and sensitive to a degree.

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583 Amahusu: Musila had to go to a cooperative
178 meeting, so Silooy helped me most of the time. I found out that Musila had given me the wrong information regarding bride prices, etc. Also, he had said that elopement was on the decline, but this proves not to be the case.

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361 178 575 794 794 476 The real ngungare and djodjaro organizations are no longer in existence. In fact, he[1] says that they disappeared long ago. This is probably not so. He says that Latuhalat and Silale still have a club house for the two groups. He certainly knows a lot about them, but says now they have only the Pemuda organization, in the church. Members of this Pemuda are fifteen or above and can be married or even rather old. He is the leader now. This Pemuda organization includes both males and females. The adviser is one of the church staff. They discuss the Bible! They also do good work, for example, they have quite a treasury, and bought some timber from the negri and cut it and sold it at a profit. This contributed to the expenses of a Pemuda delegation that went to Holland to talk with the Queen. It is entirely a church controlled thing here, but note the survivals: a chief, a place of meeting, good works, mutual aid, the name. 621 527 794 177 346 I shocked him by saying that I had decided the reason that the church was so great a center in the negri was that it takes the place of the baileo. And they are enthusiastic Christians as this replaces the old cult which was the very center of life. I said I was shocked to see the new church in Lateri which was planned and largely built by the Burgemeester (who had a special sawmill put up, but where did he get all the materials?). It was very fine, but nearby there are dilapidated houses and a pitiful scrap iron school. I said, however, that I understood because it was the baileo. Also I noted that the church feast for a new church is the biggest of all feasts. They gave this to me as an example of a really big negri feast. And the Mohammedans say the same thing about a new mosque. Thus it is the same as it used to be for a new baileo.

[1][i.e., the assistant, Musila -- Anslyst]

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614 Extended families are very large but they
527 have lost practically all former functions
769 (fam) except for the dati, some hereditary of-
178 fices, and exogamy. There are no longer any family feasts as such and no ancestor cult (is he[1]lying again?).

562 Many women here sell merchandise. Amahusu
462 is famous for its sago cakes, which are sold by
439 the women from here in the Ambon market. They
441 buy sago from Ceram traders who bring their products from the bigger islands by boat. Then they cook it and market the finished wares. Also, for example, they buy bananas in Latu and sell them in Ambon. Thus there are many women involved in trade and though the men are heads of the houses and groups, the women are really almost equal.

583 Note a previous error: The usual form of
584 marriage is tjara lari as it was before. Rarely does tjara minta occur. The girl usually tells her parents she is going to run away and they are in on it. Also, at the time they elope the boy's parents send a letter to the girl's. If these things are not done and the girl goes off without a warning, they may become angry. It is not proper. The fact is that if all of it is done as a sham, and all are in on it, it is O.K. The pair go to the boy's house for one or two days only. Then they have a wedding.

There is a free choice of mate. Intermediaries are used. Usually parents or close relatives, although sometimes friends, are such intermediaries. If there is a tjara minta, the two families meet to arrange a feast (in both houses, whereas tjara lari involves a feast at the man's house only). If there is a tjara lari (tjara means "mode"), the two families do not meet.

[1][i.e., the assistant, Musila--Analyst]

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836 593 152 Or could it be that the Mohammedan puritanism has hit men but not women, who are more held to the old adat?)

591 428 Residence is patrilocal after the wedding. This is true except for the tulung dati who follow matrilocal residence. Later on the couple gets its own house, except for the oldest son who stays and inherits the old house of his father. If there are only daughters, one stays on with her husband, who thus live matrilocally. It does not make any difference which daughter lives in.

592 591 The old man remains the head of the house until he stops working. Then he "retires" and his son becomes the household head. If there is an only daughter, the husband is bound to live in her house. At least this is the usual thing.

861 834 152 A father tells his son about sex; a mother does likewise to her daughters. They tell both sons and daughters to leave sex alone, but they know that they will do it. The mother takes it calmly, but the father becomes angry if he learns that his children have been involved. This is so even though they surely know that they did it themselves.

836 784 According to Mohammedanism, premarital sex relations are sinful, and they know it. But they do it anyway. We poor sinners are weak. Sin is ma'asiat in the local language.

565 178 576 The class setup here has not changed much in the last fifty years. Perhaps there was more respect shown to the radja's family before, but there have been few other modifications. There is a small nobility. This consists of the radja and his extended family only. Perhaps this involves ten to twenty people.

000 The only special names which have reference

565 582 614 178 I The only special names which have reference to rank and class of the social order are Wakang (former slaves of Ohorella), Ohorella (radja), and Lating (radja soa before Ohorella). Other names are of equal status. There are very few of the Wakang. Fifty years ago there still was a strong feeling against marrying these descendants of slaves, but now this is no longer the case. Still, it is not a good name. They have the same rumah tau and soa as Ohorella (Wakang) and also came from the Eruwakang negri lama. However, they came as the slaves of Ohorella, and thus both extremes are included in the soa or rumatau Wakang. I asked why there [842] were so very few Wakang, and he said (typically) that maybe when they married with other fam this was not right and they were therefore cursed by infertility. Perhaps the ancestors were angry! I suggested that perhaps, since they had no dati, the Wakang men often married as tulung dati, and so the soa became practically nonexistent.

466 178 622 Until about 1920, I think, there was a kwarto dienst for the radja here. Every week four men had to work for the radja free. This came to about one week of work per man per year. Perhaps this was abolished even earlier, because Gani says that it was no longer in existence in [564] his father's time. There are no groups of outcasts.

554 464 There is not much opportunity for an individual to rise in status. There are no good jobs and no city opportunities such as office or factory jobs would offer.

292 554 178 565 The radja family wore wooden clogs with an upright piece between the big toe and the top shaped like a flag (I note that the imeum wears a pair like this except that the top is like a ball; Musila says that this is usual for Mohammedan officials). This was true up until about

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292 1892. Until about 1860 there were two other
554 marks of distinction shared by members of the
178 radja family. They alone might wear shoes,
565 except that on big feasts like Lebaran commoners could wear them. And in addition, only
[301] radja women could wear gold combs, etc., in
565 their hair knots. When speaking to the radja
554 people address him as upu latu. There are no
576 special titles for other ranks of nobility, but when one is talking to them one must be certain to show the proper respect. The rank hierarchy would be: radja, tuan tanah, imeum, four kepala soa, hatib, modin, the two kinds of guru (school and agama). The kepala dati is not of high rank, and the old radja lineage of Lating has been lost.

198 There is no special language used by a segment of the local population. The names of the
554 ranks in the local language are as follows:
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radja: upuëlla (big);
tuan tanah: amanupu (upu of negri);
kepala soa: ella manuai (outriggers, that is, the outriggers of the big man radja who is the prau itself);
the radja family: ana bangsai.

825 Note: Tulehu is from tui rehu. The tui is
173 the bird who warns (one hears it all over here).
103 When the ancestors came down from Amantawari seeking a coast site for the negri, the tui bird gave the signal. They called it tui rehu.

565 Except for the radja's family there are no
582 longer any rules about interclass marriages. A man of the radja family may marry a lower woman, but a woman of the radja family may not marry a man of a lower class. Thus all radja women must marry outside the negri, as all radja folk inside

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565 the community are too close relatives. This is
582 why all the women in the radja's family leave home when they marry. Also, the radja himself nearly always marries a noble. And this is why nearly all of the radjas are married to outside women. There are no noble women in the kampong who are distant enough relatives to be suitable marriage partners. Thus the present radja's wife is the daughter of the Asilulu radja.

The different radja families are very much intermarried.

789 There seems to be no idea at all about magic
177 power vested in the radja. Perhaps this indeed
565 is Hindu derived. Here there seems to be little if any Hindu influence. Still, I think of Polynesian mana.

771 Mohammedanism has not changed much in the
178 last fifty years, but the old religion and
769 feasts have declined fast. There was a Lating
182 feast in 1948 to make a new house for the sacred
527 graves of the Lating radjas. I saw this place later and it turned out to be a house with slat sides halfway down. In it were three graves like those of the Goa radjas, only plainer. In one there were two marker pairs, as it was the grave of the radja and his wife. If one could date these, it would be known when the Wakang took over. Here we see the ancestor cult in good form. And note that here we also see the link between the ancestor cult and the kramat of the great hadjis of Batavia. The Lebaran development is very clear here and the steps are: Lating clan graves--Radja Goa graves--Hatja Batavia graves. (Clan ancestors to kingdom ancestors to religious ancestors.)

[755] Here at the Lating grave, Gani says, if there is illness or trouble in the Lating group the people come and read the Koran on Thursday night

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771 night. (This is the strangest mixture yet.
769 Beautiful.) This great Lating feast is held
182 when a new grave house is made. It is the one
527 when the radja acts like a servant of Lating
178 and carries a woman of Lating dressed like a
radja. A big tjakalele is danced too. And note,
[624] the tuan tanah calls the Lating ancestors, even
though he is an Umarella, because this is in
part a negri feast as Lating used to be a group
of radjas. The line of the radja is now lost
and the woman who plays the part of the radja
is merely selected from the negri. The last
real, all-negri feast was held in 1920, when a
new mosque was celebrated. The ancestors were
called by the tuan tanah with the conch shells.

764 There are seven soa or rumah tau which still
178 have their old graves with houses erected over
614 them. The other soa have forgotten their old
graves. The dead are now buried in the negri
cemetery in Kampong Baroe.

Note how all over Ambon there are stone or cement boxed-in earth rectangular mounds over the grave. Rough graves have stone heaps placed in this fashion. Better graves have cement. Christians have headstones with a cement border, with the name, etc. Mohammedan graves have a small head and foot stone inside.

The soa used to have separate cemeteries. Those still keeping their separate cemeteries are: Lating (Lestaluhu), Ei (Nahu-maruri), Aser (Umarella), Lain (Tuasalamoni), Loü Laut (Unusalela), Wakang (Ohorella), Teri (Tehupelussori).
[527] Each of these has a big soa feast when a new
[769] house is needed for the graves. At this time the
[624] ancestors are called by the kepala dati (not the
tuan tanah) with a conch shell. Lain had one in
1945; Lating, the big one, in 1948. (There was
an apprehensive cat sleeping on one of the Lating graves.)

T

000 ing graves.)

764 We saw another grave house out near the hospital (which was built by the Japanese). We asked the women on the way back to what soa it belonged. They were uncertain and finally said Lating. This seems wrong, because they have one in the kampong. Gani says maybe they were keeping it a secret and would not give me the real name! He will check on this.

764 This grave business is the real fam feast I
171 have been seeking. The grave houses are like
769 the ancestor houses, for example, on Flores.
614 The aroha feasts used to be held annually
198 by each soa, and the kepala dati used the conch
[624] shells to call the ancestors. Only three soa still do this: Aser, Ei, and Ohorella. The soa not having grave huts any more have forgotten where their old ancestors were buried (or are they newcomers?). They are: Moni, Lou, Wani, Tuni, and Pari.

771 There are only four Christians here. The
797 people never discuss religion with Christians anywhere. There is no concern with nor interest in Christian religion. There are no missionaries, no cults, and no converts to Christianity. Nearly everyone is Mohammedan. The four Christians are three women and one man who is Chinese. All are married to Mohammedans.

769 There are no more pagans, although there are
771 plenty of survivals in the culture. The Moham-
793 medan priests make no fuss about the continued
182 interest in ancestors, spirits, etc. Indeed, they participate in the ancestor rites. Thus the imeum, a Lating, goes to the Lating feast.

There are no Mohammedan purists here, and no reformers. Mohammedanism is evidently more hospitable than Christianity to such survivals.

There seem to be no Hindu or Buddhistic elements.

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197 as a second language, are easily understood by
124 me. Also, they learn Malay in school, and perhaps they learn the standard Malay which I understand.)

178 In answer to a question as to whether or not
581 there has been any change in the concept of the "suitable man or wife" in the last fifty years, my man from Amahusu said piously that the main thing is good conduct. They must be respectable. Beauty is secondary, and in fact it may be third in rank, as they also desire industry. They are really Dutch and seem to think very little about the looks of women.

848 Very few children are born out of wedlock here.
836 Perhaps there are one or two a year. (This seems to be a fair amount to me.) Usually such girls get a husband later. There is very little premarital sexual activity and most girls are virgins at marriage.

624 Note: There are four marinyo here. Three live in Naher and one in Westopong; none in Wakang.

583 After the couple has eloped they stay at the
585 man's house for one or two days. Then the woman
178 stays there for perhaps as long as twenty days. The pair sleep together and are regarded as married. When they are ready for a feast, it is held. Then they go to church and get married in a formal wedding ceremony and go to the radja in order to get registered. Following this there is a two-night feast. (Thus we see the remnants of free love here too. They are married and have sex relations before the church rite. And this is the usual thing. Thus tjara lari replaces the trial marriage of Tulehu.)

591 Residence is patrilocal first unless it is a case of tulung dati. Then, if the man is an oldest son, they remain in the father's home. If

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591 the man is not an oldest son, they build their own house. If the girl is an only daughter, [428] they live in her house. If the children in [592] one family are all daughters, one of them inherits the house. This is different from Tulehu in that the old man is head of the house until he dies, even though he no longer works.

864 Here the mother usually tells both boys and [673] girls about sex matters and warns them to be careful. Sin is described in general Christian terms, but note the remarkable tjara lari sex practices.[1]

178 There have been very few changes in the last 565 fifty years in the social classes in this area.
614 Silooy is a radja fam, and so is Da Costa (I suspect something queer here). He says that Da Costa is a subdivision of Silooy, or perhaps they have intermarried? It is a bit embarrassing to ask questions about this matter because his wife is the Da Costa radja's daughter. There are perhaps ten in the Da Costa radja family and fifteen in the Silooy group who are eligible for the radja post.

~~565~~ Formerly it was impossible to marry below if 582 one was a noble woman, but now this actually happens (for example, Musila's wife is the Radja's daughter). Even now, people in the radja group usually marry in other kampongs. This is similar to the same or comparable setup in Tulehu. The present Radja's wife is the daughter of the Radja of Hative (or at least of that family).

567 There never were many slaves here. Perhaps 551 this is true of the Ambon negri anyway, but they 369 may have been more common in the city with the Dutch and this may be why they have Dutch names. There is not much large scale labor for slaves 567 in the negri. The economy is too simple. How

[1] [See p. 265, cat. 116 --Analyst]

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How about the Isaac fam? They say that they are not slave descendants and other folk say that they are not too. I must ask the Radja. Also, are there any turunan burger. Silooy doesn't know. I will ask the Radja about this too. (It would be better if I had the old Silooy man for an assistant.)

There is no group of outcasts in Amahusu.

The ambitions of the youth here are mainly directed toward becoming clerks and soldiers. Not very many of the people here want to become teachers. There is a new trend noticeable in a few individuals for learning the telegraphist trade. I am told that all who learn how to become teachers are poorly paid, while the soldiers get plenty of free food and clothes and eventually a pension. The religious teachers get excellent pay, and here again the church is more important than the school. There is not much chance to rise in this negri.

There are no distinctive symbols of rank and status. If one addresses the radja one usually uses the term paduka. Formerly the term upu was used to address the tuan tanah, the kepala soa, and the kapitan.

The radja has a special hat and staff. The former evidently has a kind of fringe and the latter a silver head. Formerly he had a jacket with a strip of fringe along the sleeves. He wears the white hat and carries the stick on special occasions.

The hierarchy of rank is as follows: radja, three kepala soa, pastor, kepala kewang, gurus of the church, gurus of the school.

Especially influential are the pastor and the church gurus. They slay the folk here with Bible quotations. I remember Rehatta telling how he wanted to fire a preacher in Soya because

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871 794 afternoon. If they wish, they may go to the guru both morning and afternoon.

875 465 Once a year each student gives the guru two and one-half kilograms of rice. This he sells at fl. 2.50. Thus, since each guru has fifty to one hundred students, he makes from fl. 125 to fl. 250 per year. In addition, they have other work.

779 521 186 All arguments are carried on within Mohammedanism and they know relatively little about other cults. There is considerable argument, especially when one person says that his guru says so and so and that is right, whereas another says that his guru gives a different interpretation and that is right. They know little about other cults and do not care about them.

78 764 [765] There have not been any major changes in attitude toward death and the dead during the last fifty years. Funerals are about the same; memory days are 3, 7, 9, 44, and 100 days (hari mati) after death. The corpse is bathed and wound in a white shroud which covers the face as well as the rest of the body. On such occasions all mosque men come and pray. The body must be buried within one day. The grave is the side chamber type, one and one-half meters deep. They heap stones or place a cement rectangular mound over the grave in addition to two stones (male or female). The side chamber is shut off by a wooden wall. Holy water is poured over the stones and the priest prays at the grave. There are no houses [562] built over new graves. Formerly, women placed a canopy of flowers over the grave. This is no longer done, although once a year in the middle of the month of Ramadan they go to the cemetery, clean the graves, and decorate them with flowers.

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769 The ancestor cult survives and it is believed
775 that the ancestral spirits are really around in
778 the area and can be called upon when needed.
182 I asked if they knew what happened to the souls after death and he said he really did not know. As usual, except for the pagans, the people do not know very much about the after-life. Then there is the negri lama and the ancestors of the negri who can be called upon there. There must have been a great ancestor cult center here in former times, and the cult keeps on fairly well although it is under the guise of Mohammedanism. Note also the seven holy grave places
769 of the fam with the graves of the old ancestors.
778 There are the ancestors of the negri, but
614 they are really ancestors of the fam. Seven of the twelve fam have the holy ancestral graves, and there, as above, rituals are celebrated. Those fam which do not have kramat are mostly from the outside, although long ago. Maybe they do have kramat for their ancestors located somewhere else. This is indeed true of Moni (Kottahatuhaha), which has a grave house over the ancestral graves in Haruku at the negri of Ruhumoni. The seven fam which have kramat are the old ones from Amantawari and Eruwakang. The other five are as follows: Moni from Haruku; Lou from Amantawari, although they have forgotten where the kramat is; and Wani, Tuni, and Pari, all of these from somewhere else.

115 Note: Gani's full name is Abdul Gani Kottahatuhaha.

192 Note: Everywhere here in Indonesia I hear the word modern (with the Dutch pronunciation). It has become a very popular Malay word. These are "modern" times. The "modern" girls do so and so, etc.

178 There is little specialized entertainment in
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178 this area and there has been relatively little
54 change in the last fifty years in this regard.
Very little entertainment comes from the outside,
and as just stated there is very little within.

535 There are three kinds of dances:
883 (a) Menari: This dance is done at feasts,
[527] but comes on spontaneously at the spur of the
moment. There will be a group of ngungare and
djodjaru (young men and young women) sitting
around in the street talking to each other when
one of them says, "It's been a long time since
we've had a dance. Let's have a menari tonight."
Later on they hold this dance in the street, or
perhaps they may go to the radja's house and
dance on his front porch. They do this because
they want to. On October 5 the dance madness
burst out suddenly in Kampong Baroe and Kampong
Lama. That night they held a menari in both
kampongs. In this type of dance there is sing-
[533] ing but no drumming. Songs like Kole, Kole are
[534] sung, and they also make up pantun. Flutes may
be used too, I think.

535 (b) Tjakalele: This dance is held during
527 negri or Lating feasts, or when one of the big
shots visits the negri. During the tjakalele
there is no singing, and the accompaniment con-
sists entirely of drumming. However, war cries
are also given.

(c) Samra (danadana in the local dialect):
This dance is done by pairs of the same sex.
Time is kept by hand clapping, and a viol may
be used. This is like the stepping back and
forth of the Toradja madjoge.

534 Thus the Tulehu people have drums, flutes,
viols, banjos, and guitars. However, they do
not play these instruments very much, and they
have no school or church orchestra such as is
533 the case in the Christian areas. The only thing

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533 I hear much of is singing, and the songs sound good. They sing lullabies, etc.

546 536 531 Actually the people here are not much on entertainment. They like movies if they have seen them, but only about forty per cent have ever seen a movie. There is no drama at all. (Again the Christians have church and local historical plays.) There is no sculpture; wood carving is done only on buildings; and there is no painting.

526 524 541 857 Football is the only sport. Only the Butonese have fighting cocks. Only the children play with kites and string cutting. There is just about no art of recreation.

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565 [195] [178] [576] Amahusu: There are no special language distinctions between lowers and uppers. In the last half century, the respect shown the radja has become less and less formalized.

622 587 The present Radja married three times. One wife died. He divorced the second wife. He married his third wife, aged thirty years, when he was fifty-five. Musila's wife is his niece, the daughter of his brother.

565 582 789 The taboo on a radja woman marrying a commoner is much weaker today than it was at one time. However, the nobles remain largely endogamous. There are no magical power ideas connected with nobility here.

178 771 563 In the last fifty years there has been a little change in the local forms of Christianity, but there has been a big and rapid decline in the old cult. Everyone here except the Butonese is Christian. There are about thirty Pentecostals (Pinkster). They have a church below the road and the kepala kewang is a member (also Tjokro, the Javan leader in Ambon). They are extreme fundamentalists and very argumentative. When they hold services people come from other places.

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771 The only Mohammedans are the Butonese. The
797 Christians often know something about Mohamme-
563 danism (this is unlike the Mohammedans who know very little about Christianity). Relations with the Mohammedans are friendly but distant. There are no converts to Mohammedanism or to Christianity. And there are no pagans.

178 There are actually plenty of survivals, but
771 they are dying out. There are still beliefs
182 in ancestors' spirits, guna-guna, soul catching,
797 soothsaying, doti-doti, etc. And there is a
578 lot of trouble with zealous young church gurus
769 who insist that all traces of the old adat and agama must be rooted out. The Radja, who wants to keep as much of the old as is "good" has strained relations with the church. The majority of the people here don't like the young zealots either. They have had to fire two or three recently as they insisted on running down the old things. The older gurus who have been here a long time do not talk that way; instead, they avoid the subject. They are all right. The young ones don't drag it up every day, but hammer on the subject from time to time. He says that the worst zealots come from Saparua, and especially from Paperu.

[526] Many people say the reason that Amahusu began to lose the orembaai races after the war having won them all the time before (they involved about fifteen negri, on August 31, from Hative to Ambon), is because they have lost their old rites. They used to get the ancestors to help and use guna-guna, etc. Amahusu has lost the help of the ancestors and this is because they have lost the old cult. Thus there is a kind of rebound from extreme Christianity, although the latter has gone too far now and is irresistible.

181 Maybe the reason I get the impression that this

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181 is a spiritless and uninteresting kampong is precisely that they have indeed lost their spirit.

771 177 There are no discernible Hindu or Buddhistic elements in the local religion.

346 778 There is a church (plus the Pentecostal center), the negri lama, the batu pemali, and formerly a baileo.

614 778 423 422 Every fam that has a dati, i.e., a fam which has been here for a long time and is not from the outside, has pusaka (plates, etc.) of the ancestors which are kept in the house of the kepala dati. If there are several kepala dati in a fam (for example, Silooy), I guess each one has some pusaka in his house.

769 527 When my informant was still young, a festa pemali was held, and at such times the people ate foods like the ancestors ate. It was a sort of reliving the past, and the ancestors were called by using a conch shell. These were family feasts.

527 783 614 They still have the festa tjutji negri. For three days they clean the negri, the negri lama, and the cemetery. (Do they call the ancestors at this time?) Only the saniri and the kepala dati go up to the negri lama to clean it. There are no fam feasts.

178 526 769 789 777 On August 31, when they had the orembaai races, they used to call the ancestors with a conch shell (the tuan tanah did it). They also used to do guna-guna, etc. As long as this was done, Amahusu always won. This was true up until the war, but since then they have not gone through with these rites and have lost every time. They used to beat even Rutung, where they do powerful guna-guna so that their orembaai is very swift and their runners (they have foot races too) are like suwanggi. Nevertheless,

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526 Amahusu used to beat them. The people here are
769 beginning to wonder if they hadn't better use
788 a little ancestor stuff and magic for the races
777 again.

529 Other feasts are baptism (perhaps takes the
852 place of old Indonesian infant feasts, e.g.,
haircut), wedding (largest), and funeral (small).

535 The tjakalele equipment (weapons) is still
614 kept by Mainake. The costumes, including the
tapa loincloth, are gone. (Hatalai still has
these costumes, including the tapa loincloth.)
Mainake is the tuan tanah fam, and it is also
one of the two kapitan fam (which one has the
kapitan now?). I suspect the kepala soa or
somebody in Mainake still knows how to teach the
tjakalele. Probably many men can still do it.

793 The religious leaders are the preacher and
875 the gurus. They are very important and influen-
578 tial, but there is sometimes trouble with the
radja if they criticize the old beliefs too
much.

771 This is definitely a conservative Christian
181 area, with real Dutch fundamentalism. The young
875 gurus are the worst, as they are fanatics. They
555 know that the old Dutchmen who run the church
177 are like this, and when they hear that a young
guru is full of hell fire they will raise his
pay and promote him. The smart ones get onto
this and preach hell with full force.

871 There are Bible classes for children and
794 adults, but there is no mixing of church in
school.

795 There is a great deal of argument and debate
521 on religious subjects but it is all between the
578 very argumentative Pentecostals and the Protes-
tants. It must be funny to hear a stiff Calvin-
ist being accused of modernism by an even more
795 fundamentalist Pentecostal! (It is really piti-

795 A (It is really piti-
[181] ful to see how religion is stupefying these people. Even the Javan guru, Tjokro, instead of being a healthy Mohammedan, turns out to be a Pentecostal. I suppose they couldn't run a school here if it were not Christian. The fiery young church youth leader who sits in occasionally here is the son of the Pentecostal kepala kewang. The son is Protestant, and they argue ceaselessly.

186 The people here know something about Mohammedanism although not too much. There is no comparative interest (but he did say that they hear about Buddhism, etc., in school. Maybe this is in regard to Indonesian history?). The returnees tell nothing about other religions. They probably stay Ambonese wherever they go.

178 764 292 There have evidently been few changes in burial practice in the last fifty years, although Musila does not know too much about this. They bathe the corpse and dress it up in clean clothes. The men are dressed in a black bolero (banian) with a white tutup underneath. Women are dressed either in a black church dress, or, much more often, in a colored dress with a long kebaya. Then the body is put in the coffin. It remains in the house only one day because there is no embalming. The coffin is kept open and the face remaines visible. Just before the coffin is nailed shut (Musila does this, as he is the kepala tukang of the negri), the guru leads in prayers and they all sing hymns. Then the coffin is taken to the grave and placed in a straight shaft. For three nights the relatives gather, sing hymns, talk, drink tea, and eat.

755 Then I really got something at last. If a person is sick they may call in a person from Eri or Silale or Latuhalat (evidently a male, but possibly a female too?) who can tell the

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753 Regarding the causes of illness, they think
755 it may be caused by an ancestral ghost, or a
774 nitu, etc. The mauwe or the Kepala Soa Soplanit can tell this. Thus the ancestral spirits hang around and can come here and cause illness if they are malevolent. They evidently seize the soul of the person who will become ill. Thus at last I find that the ghosts and the spirits are really here and so is soul catching and sooth-
[956] saying. He is definite, however, that there is no real shamanism.

191 Ambon: The native Dutch-speaking people like Rehatta talk among themselves in a remarkable mixture of Dutch and Malay. They slip from one to the other without pause and hardly seem to know what they are doing.

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826 Tulehu: Gani says he thinks that American girls (whom he has evidently seen in the movies) are good-looking. As he says, they look like Arabian girls. He spots the Caucasoid.

624 I worked along on the schedule with Gani and
178 made some corrections. It turns out that there used to be six kepala soa (Lating, Wakang, Moni, Lain, Ei, and Teri). Ei and Teri have dropped out, but they still have their descendants. Of the twelve kepala dati posts, only seven are filled now. The old kepala dati of Tuasalamoni, Tawainella, Sarlata, Tuasamu, and Pari are dead and their successors have not yet stepped in.

759 There are indeed three dukun and all are
562 women.

875 There are ten guru Islam and six guru sekolah (two are Christian). I had a talk with the old
[868] (sixty-two years) Kepala Soa Tuasalamoni, who
535 keeps the tjakalele stuff in his house and
292 teaches the tjakalele to children. He does the latter in the street outside. He dressed up in

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266 some occasion. It was relatively unimportant,
173 at least in terms of what the people remember
681 here. There is no memory of human sacrifice and none of torture. In law or adat they never had the death punishment here.

538 Legends and folklore are frequently discussed
521 although this is a subject which is declining,
178 even with the old folk. I see this when I talk with the old people. They know a lot that the young people do not.

178 That many of the old traits are disappearing
771 does not concern the young. The old like to re-
182 call the past but evidently they are not making much of an effort to keep the young in the same groove. My guess is that Mohammedanism stands against them. Mohammedanism may not be absolutely against old things such as the Christian preachers are, but it makes the old folks lose their spirit in trying to have the young people hold on. They have no "charter" for the old any more, as Mohammedanism is the only religion. They could not justify easily any effort in this direction.

197 I am sure that the old language of tradition
178 helps to keep the memory of the past alive. The old man from Waai said that when the bahasa tanah goes that is the beginning of the end of the old ways. Tulehu and other Mohammedan negri still have the bahasa tanah.

Note: The old man from Waai said that they no longer use the bahasa tanah in Waai. He is pretty sure that Tial Serani does not use it, and he doubts that Tial Slam still does either. I take his word for Waai, but I must ask about Tial.

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764 Amahusu: Few burial customs survive. Perhaps
178 one example is the three-night death gathering of

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764 the family. Another example may be the rectangu-
178 lar stone heap or cement mound which they erect over the grave. Perhaps the old folk have more feeling in this regard than the younger ones.

There are no tombs, like the fam have in the Tulehu cemetery. There are no graves older than about one hundred years. The dead may be buried near the houses. There are no grave regulations. It would be better if they did have grave regulations. As for the grave covers of cement, he
[753] says that these are often promised to the dead when they are still alive, and the people fear not fulfilling such a promise as they may get sick (thus consistently and often unexpectedly the "superstition" crops up).

546 Eighty per cent of the people here have seen
535 movies. They could do a tjakalele here if they
178 wanted to and the kepala soa Mainake (also the
868 tuan tanah soa) teaches the tjakalele to the children and has about thirty who are learning! This is exactly like Tulehu. He makes the costumes of paper, the sword and helmet of wood.
[534] Thus even here they have a survival. A drum and a gong are used.

535 All learn to dance (menari). It is easy. Some are very clever in making up pantun songs
[534] for this. For the menari they sing and use a drum and tetebuang. The only other dances are European, for example, the quadrille and waltz.

533 There is a flute orchestra in the church and
517 they also have a "trombone." There is a local
541 dance band too. I heard them and they are not bad, but the songs are very old. They play mainly Indonesian jazz, or what have you. These musicians hire out at feasts in other negri. Hatalai has a dance band too and the lads learn from each other. They love to sing and they do it especially in the evenings. They have old

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538 They do not tell stories very much, even to the children.

527 Except for special occasions, the holidays are August 17 and 31, Lebaran, and Christmas.

829 186 369 546 481 There is some desire on the part of the young folk to see other lands, but they are really satisfied with the negri. There is not much criticism as in Tulehu. Maybe this is because they are so near the big town of Ambon. They can walk in to Ambon all the time. They go to the movies there and walk around. They like Malay movies especially. They also like cowboy movies. (A Javan boy in a beer place told me he was going to the movies. I asked him what movie he was going to, and he said cowboy.) Every evening one can see the people of Amahusu walking to Ambon. They may get home at 2 A.M. The bus fare is fl. 0.50.

721 266 681 There are still stories about head-hunting but nothing about cannibalism. Also, there is nothing about sacrifice or torture. There was no death punishment in law or adat.

283 335 Everyone can and does make rope from gemuti fiber. They use it in place of nails in house building because nails are hard to get.

412 I saw a man using a hatchet to shape a curved timber (it looked like a boat strut) with great skill.

178 771 182 The young people do not care much about the loss of old traits. There are a few who do, but they are very few. Here again it is the alien religion that removes the charter from the old, and though the old ones would like to have the young preserve the old things, they have no justification, because Christianity, the religion, leaves no place for the ancestral spirits, etc.

535 178 887 182 The old people are troubled by the lack of interest in the old things on the part of the

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535 young. They talk and grumble but it does no good.
887 The young will have little of it. Nevertheless I
182 see that they like the old songs, and they dance and join in the old things quite a bit. Several children learn the tjakalele. I noted at the wedding that they dance the quadrille and waltz more enthusiastically, however, than they do the older dances. In fact, the people who danced the menari were almost all old men and women. The young looked on with a kind of amusement.

178 I think I have the answer. The old have no
182 charter justification to use in persuading the
793 young that it is good to hold onto the old. There is only Christianity. The ancestors have no place therein. This is a complicated business, however, and the church takes the place of the old baileo in a way and supports the feeling of negri separateness and unity. The worst influences are the preachers and the religious gurus. Musila says the turn came about 1930. Before that the old religion was in pretty good shape. After that there was a swift decline. I must ask more about this and why such a turn took place at that time. In Amahusu, Musila remembers an especially vicious attacker of the old things, a guru from Paperu, Saparua. He stormed on against the adat, and the old agama, and the young people followed him. The Radja hated him, and finally got rid of him, but he had already done the harm. And now too the gurus carry on the attack all the time. The Radja does not like it. I wonder if the women are more or less attached to the old things than are the men. I have not had time to go into this.

[538] There is not much telling of old stories. In
178 a little while the roots of the past may disappear altogether. But what will the Ambonese be then? It may be that all Indonesia will lose its

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178 grip on the past, and Ambon may merely be ahead
[182] of the trend. However, the color is going out of the life here. The folk culture is being lost and they are in a state of great transition. Notably enough, however, they are not suffering. Like the young everywhere, they seem to need no roots in the past.

000 East Indonesia: A letter from Levij says that a Dutchman was killed near Palopo. The Radja of Tulehu says that this happened a month ago. The Dutchman was in the tobacco business and was killed by a band of Buginese. The leaders are now in jail.

I 648 208 I saw a cartoon in the Elseviers Weekblad of July showing the UNCI telling the Netherlands that here is a fine Republic. The latter is shown as a puppet wajang being operated by terrorists, communists, etc. The UNCI figure wears a loud coat, horned glasses and has a camera. Thus he is a stereotype for an American. In fact, it looks like Cochran [American ambassador to Indonesia].

I 635 I talked at Tulehu with a member of the East Indonesian Parlemen. He is Latukonsina, from Saparua. He says that the East Indonesian Senaat has thirteen members, chosen by the thirteen daerah. Ten are from the former self-governing areas, and they are radjas chosen by the dewan radja-radja of their daerah. The other three are from the direct control areas, and they are chosen by their dewan rakyat. These three are from Lombok, Minahasa, and Ambon. The Parlemen is elected, and now has (I think) seventy-three members, of whom sixty-three are elected and ten are named by the Government of East Indonesia. He calls these the "corrective factor". There used to be eighty members. He is glad that I am writing up an impartial account.

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769 is done wrong (that is, in regard to chopping down the tree), the ancestors will be sore and they will throw an invisible spear into the of- [753] fender. The latter will become sick and must ask a member of Ei to bathe him ritually. Then he may be cured.

773 Other stories started to roll then, and he could clearly have gone on and on. This shows that there is plenty of folklore here and that it has to do mainly with ancestors and wonder tales.

773 Until about fifty years ago a woman carrying
769 goods to the market in Ambon for sale (and they
778 had to walk then) always stopped at the spring
[178] of Tungku Tiga, if she was a Moni. This spring is near the present Butonese mosque on the bay below Tulehu and is near Paso. She sprinkled water on her merchandise so that it would all be sold on her way to Ambon in order that she could go home and would not have to walk all the way to the city. The ancestors would help in this way.

[173] The reason this applies to Moni is that in the days when the Portuguese and Mohammedans were coming in here the Moni folk were afraid of forced conversion and fled to Paso and settled there. Their ancestors still haunt the area. It is a kind of "second negri lama" of this fam. Not long ago when a bridge was being built at Paso there was a pile which could not be driven down. The construction boss was puzzled because it was merely sand and he didn't think there was any stone in the way. A Moni man climbed on top of the pile and shook it and down it went. The ancestors of the Moni did it.

769 Gani's father and father's brother were once
789 walking to Hitu in a terrific rain. His father prayed to the ancestors and the rain stopped.

1[i.e., the negri sago --Analyst]

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778 The Saparua man says that he never heard that the Siwa batu had to be on the sea side of the baileo and the Lima batu on the land side.[1] He says the truth is that the Siwa batu has to be upright, perhaps one and one-half meters high, while the Lima batu is flat and low, hardly above the level of the ground.

273 The Mohammedans here make no palm wine.

342 Only the Butonese use pile houses.

178 When the local people build new houses they put coins under the main post. The Saparua lad says that this is true for Saparua too. He says that they probably used a head in former days. In Ceram a cocoanut may be used today.

When a new house is built a feast is held, but nothing else.

124 The Saparua man corrected my bahasa tanah list which Rehatta had given me with thirteen errors in it. Such a big mouth.

787 825 The Saparua man says indeed that Nusalaut is far off. He says that though it is adjacent to Saparua he knows very little about the adat there. The tui bird is an omen bird all over. For example, the Saparua man says it will come to the negri and tell the folk if one has had an accident in the garden.

291 177 Formerly, Mohammedan women wore a long kebaya. Now they do not. They have taken over largely the Javan style, and this is spreading to the Christians.

304 262 When a little girl's ears are bored, (and all little girls' ears are bored), she cannot eat oily food (for example, cocoanut) until the holes have healed.

304 178 They say that relatively few have their teeth evened down, but both of them do have theirs filed in that fashion. It is done with a stone. They believe that it is a new style and that it

[1] [Sacrificial stones of the Ulilima & the Ulisiwa; see p. 371 of Vroklage as cited in bibliography, cat. 113 — Analyst]

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304 is done for greater beauty. They were surprised
178 when I said it was surely an old custom on the way out!

They remember that there was tattooing here long ago.

411 The shields here were very narrow, and the
[535] tjakalele ones are narrow now. They are only about eight centimeters wide. Thus they are really parrying shields, and a sign that no bows were used here perhaps.

292 The fellow from Saparua cannot remember any-
178 one making uti-uti sarongs there, but he says
439 they use them on adat occasions sometimes. These they buy from Timor. Thus they have forgotten that they too once had them. However, the "adat" remark is a giveaway.

417 Sasi signs are made on leaves, cocoanut,
421 pineapple, etc. They are strung on a frame.[1]

624 The position of kepala dati is hereditary.
423 He must be the oldest son of the former kepala
614 dati. In Paperu the tuan tanah, who is old,
[197] still speaks the bahasa tanah, but his son and successor does not learn it.

567 The name for slaves in bahasa tanah here is ata.

624 The Saparua man says that the term bangsa
565 hatsil was used in Saparua for regents who got
114 a bit more pay than the regular radjas. They were not of lower rank. He says they still choose the kepala kewang from a certain bangsa, that is, from a certain lineage. This is not so in Tulehu. It shows that the author of the ENI article[2] must have been writing about Saparua. But as usual, the fool doesn't say that his remarks are for Saparua. Perhaps, of course, this was true of Ambon too at one time.

565 In the negri of Saparua there are still bur-
624 gers. They are under the wijkmeester who is
175
425 [1 See D.D. Tauern, Patasiwa und Patalima, Leipzig,
726 1918, pp. 100-01--Analyst]; [2 See bibliography, cat. 113--Analyst]

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262 soup without grease and spices. And there were
many kinds of bananas.

344 Then we went on to the baileo which is
368 "modernized" by old Gaspersz. It is like a
485 small pasanggrahan, with a central small porch
178 on which there are a table and chairs, and two
623 bedrooms, one on either side. It is not really
an old style baileo at all, but the saniri meets
here. It is especially equipped for guests.
Not a bad idea, as the old style baileo was al-
most never used except on special occasions.

132 I took a bath and sat down exhausted. Later
I walked about the kampong. It is very hot al-
though on a high hill (one hundred fifty meters),
and there are higher hills behind (two of them
are Hatalai and Soya). We went to the house of
721 the kapitan, where a showing was arranged for
578 tomorrow. Then we went to see the kapitan's
778 stones. One was beside the house. It is low and
231 flattened on top. This was given by a Latuhalat
173 radja for otherwise he would have lost his head.
Latuhalat is the traditional enemy here. Then to
one side of the house in the rear was a stone on
which the kapitan stood when calling the ances-
tors before the war and also when threatening
the enemy. It is in the Latuhalat direction
from his house. Some distance off was another
stone, a large one with many grooves in it.
These are the sharpening grooves used for spears
before a war. Each groove stood for a war, and
there were perhaps twenty grooves in all. Not
until the next day did we see the batu makan
andjing, where the seven war dogs of the kapitan
ate. It was located a little below the kampong,
231 near one of the springs. These dogs were big
552 and each had a special job, for example, bring-
726 ing food. But all of them went with the kapitan,
and if he was hard pressed they tore the enemy

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778 old man about the Lima and Siwa relationship to
619 the stone, and he said the Paperu guru was right:
the Lima folk have a low and flat stone; the
Siwa have a higher and rather cylindrical one.
This one is the Lima type.

We went down from here, but I thought that here was the Upu Pangit cult (the old man said so later), the sun cult, and the prayer and sacred places are as close to the sky as possible.
[137] Kukulangit is the name of a banana here which grows pointing up. Later in Amahusu I asked Musila if the batu pemali of his negri lama is on top of a little hill or mound. He said yes, and that they are all so placed. Directly in front of the church, where there was a flat plaza, they pointed to the ground and said that here is the teong soa Pessi. It was leveled and the stone was lost when the plaza was made.

778 Then we went down from the steps and onto
769 the middle street. They pointed out the teong
123 soa Huwai. The mound had been leveled and the stone lost when the road was made. I said maybe the stone fell on the church steps and smashed them because the ancestors were mad at the leveling of the two teong. I might have said that they probably don't like the church anyway. The Nyora said seriously that no, the moyang were not disturbed if the old things were changed for good and useful purposes. But I'll bet there are stories about this here. Later at dinner, she asked me if I was coming to believe the legends of Ambon, and later still, Joseph jokingly said I might become the tuan tanah if I stayed. I think they liked my obvious interest in the old and also the fact that I know a lot about it.

614 With us on the walk was Alfons, an oldish man.
423 He is the kepala soa of the extinct Huwai and
178
621
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614 423 178 621 163 also the kepala dati. I asked why the name Alfons. His father and grandfather were also Alfons, but farther back there was a marriage link (maybe tulung dati of a special sort) of his Alfons family (which is a separate fam too) and the extinct Huwai clan. He carries on the Huwai functions, so far as the dati and soa are concerned. He has only one son. If the latter has no son, then the soa and dati will finally be extinct. Thus I see a real effort to keep the soa and dati alive, but also the curse which can be brought on by having no male children. This seems to afflict certain clans all over Ambon. In every negri, one clan is the largest by far and keeps having lots of sons. Then there is a second, with many too. But also there are one or two that are almost gone, and they seem unable to produce sons. The Huwai folk here entered last, after Pessi and Patti, and they are said to be cursed because they were so warlike before. He seems a little subdued.

614 621 361 In the evening I had a long talk with the ex-kepala soa Patti and the kepala soa Huwai. Joseph was also there. I got a great deal of new material and made corrections in some of the previous notes. There are three soa, each with a teong (two of which are leveled) and a perigi. There are thirteen named kampongs. The soa and the fam are all scattered over the kampongs. The two original soa were Pessi and Patti, and the former is the oldest here. Huwai entered later. The oldest settled area was kampong Huasaury, on the south end of the negri. The teong were a bit outside the settled area at first, where the church is now, on a high hill to the north. It is notable that the church [346] was built on this hill, on the highest point, near the two oldest teong.

N

000 married there was a week long feast.

534 The conch shell is used now only to call for
721 the tjakalele, but I saw the kapitan use it in
578 preparations for war. The traditional enemy was Latuhalat (the Amahusu lad says Latuhalat was also the enemy of Eri; Latuhalat is a trade negri, but I can't see why this made it the enemy of so many negri; maybe every negri had more than one enemy; indeed, wars were frequent.

614 The Warela fam has a fish totem. This fish
262 is not eaten by members of that fam. This fish
825 is known as esilesil.

361 Distances to other places by land from Naku
481 are: Kilang three and one quarter kilometers,
103 Soya four km., Hatalai two and one half km., Ambon nine km. (they make it in two hours with a load, and the women are especially fast), Latuhalat fifteen km. (over a very hard forest path), Amahusu twelve km., Seri ten km., Hukurila three and one half km., Leihari ten km., Hutamuri thirteen km., Lata twenty km., Eri thirteen km., Rutung eleven km., and Ema two km.

565 There are no descendants of burgers here.

824 I am informed that they used to have a noise
245 taboo in the clove gardens when they were blossom-
178 ing, but this is now no longer observed. They
784 certainly have it elsewhere, for example, they said the harvest of cloves has just ended in Latuhalat and now they can make noise.

136 There is no big game here, that is, pig, deer,
224 etc. This is found only in Hitu. They do hunt kalong and cuscus. I saw one of the latter, a marsupial, in a cage. It is young and is being raised to be killed and eaten later. It has a skunk-like smell. They grow to be three feet
261 long. There is no geophagy here. No pottery is
323 made here.

245 There is not enough sago available in this
438 area, and they must buy sago from the outside.

N

000 area, and they must buy sago from the outside.

344 342 The new baileo was built about thirty years ago. When a new house is built two copper cents are placed under the main post.

292 About one hundred per cent of the people wear black clothes for church, and this holds for males and females.

304 178 Teeth evening is rare now, but when they do so it is for beauty only. A stone is used by the person himself, and there is no memory of any special significance.

There are no more significant tattoos, but I see many men with designs on their arms. This they say is to suit their taste only, but it is clearly a survival.

565 292 624 The kapitan family are a kind of lower nobility or upper commoner. They wear special ritual clothes and do special ritual things.

583 777 The old man says there is no anak harta, but the Nyora says that they may indeed have it if there is no bride price paid. In general, however, except for the tulung dati (rare), one must pay the price. If they don't, it is believed that the couple will have bad luck and that the children will die.

624 562 Women may become kepala dati, but only if they are unmarried. The same rule applies for the rani.

466 178 The old man says that the kwarto dienst was once practiced all over Leitimor. It provided labor for the radja. About once in four years a given man had to work one month. Four men worked at a time.

844 791 197 There are three midwives (biang) here. There are magicians or mauwe here as well as in the Amahusu area. They call back seized souls of the sick and use the old language.

The kapitan uses the bahasa tanah in his war invocation too.

N

000 invocation too.

583 The old man says that the reason marriage by elopement is the usual thing here is because the girl's family must give a dowry if the marriage follows the tjara minta (the dowry must consist of clothes, dusun, etc.). If the marriage is by elopement this is not necessary, and only the man has to pay harta. If the tjara minta is followed, there have to be two feasts, one at the man's house and one at the girl's house; but in the latter case there is only one, at the man's house. The bride price consists of one kaju of [435] cloth (value before fl. 25.00, now fl. 200.00), one bottle of gin. This is for the Naku area, but I am told that in the Eri area one must pay five kaju of cloth and five bottles of gin (Is this for an outside man marrying an Eri area girl?). The kepala soa Pessi, who married an Eri woman, had to pay this. Since the cloth is [851] so dear (five kaju would be fl. 1000.00), it is [611] possible to give the first child to the girl's family and thus we still have anak harta.

565 Nevertheless, the radja's family always gives
583 one kaju of cloth and one bottle of gin. It is
753 said that until now a radja or kepala soa man of Naku must give in addition a gong. There is much trouble in finding a gong, but this must be done and it is included in the bride price. Sickness will result if this is not done. The old man says this is true in other negri too.

764 Thread, nails, etc. are placed in the coffin. (Why?)

765 There is not much of the three-day feast for
● 178 the dead. They do it if they want to. Formerly betel, tobacco, and food were placed in the room of the dead for three days for the soul who was believed to come. This is not followed today. In Latuhalat, however, they still practice this rite, and it is also done in other negri.

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582 In these twelve big fam, marriages with other
614 Indonesians (mainly with other Ambonese fam) total 98; marriages with Butonese total 6. The other Indonesian marriages include marriages include marriages to Arabs.

There are these cases of slave marriages:

Wakang--Kotta	Wakang--Wakang
Kotta--Wakang	Ceram Slave--Laha
Ceram Slave--Ohorella	Ceram Slave--Haruku

Marriages between both outsiders total 51.
Marriages between both Butonese total 109.

614 Of the twelve big fam plus the Wakang, en-
582 dogamous marriages are as follows:
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	Total Number of Marriages in Which Involved	Endogamous
Ohorella	111	9
Lestaluhu	240	59
Tuasalamoni	37	3
Kottahatuhaha	52	6
Nahumaruri	106	10
Tehupelussori	36	2
Umarella	48	5
Tawainella	44	3
Hunusalela	12	0
Sarlata	5	0
Tuasamu	20	2
Pari	11	1
Wakang	3	1

Thus, of the marriages, totaling 725 in which the twelve main fam plus Wakang are involved, 101 or 14 per cent are endogamous. Especially endogamous are the Lestaluhu, who comprise the largest fam. They have about 25 per cent of the endogamous marriages. Thus the old endogamous taboo has

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582 declined to practically nothing. This is one
●178 hundred per cent different from the Christian
182 negri, where the endogamous taboo still holds.
614 In this respect, at least, the Christians are more conservative. Gani says this is because they are following Mohammedan marriage rules more and more, and fam endogamy is not taboo in Mohammedanism. Thus we can see that in marriages Mohammedanism has much to say, whereas Christianity says little, except about incest.

[162]

	Fam
Lestaluhu (Lating)	600
Ohorella (Wakang)	305
Nahumaruri (Ei)	241
Umarella (Aser)	133
Tawainella (Lou)	118
Kottahatuhaha (Noni)	110
Tehupelussori (Teri)	87
Tuasalamoni (Lain)	81
Tuasamu (Tuni)	52
Hunusalela (Lou Laut)	24
Pari (Pari)	21
Sarlatta (Wani)	14
Wakang (Wakang)	10
Total	1796

[563]

Butonese	632
Ceram	65
Chinese	34
Javan	18
Indian	6
Other Indonesians	41
Elsewhere in Ambon Islands	323
Total	2915

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Savu OF15 Ambon OH4
Sumba OF17 Gorontalo OG4

monial soothsayer. In East Sumba, for example, control has been captured by alien invaders. But the chiefs (maramba) of the conquerers left the control of the lands as such in the hands of headmen of the indigenous population. By this act these local chiefs became the land supervisors, or "mangu tanah," as they are called. On Savu the name of the comparable supervisor is "déo rai." In this part of the archipelago, however, the implications of the title (literally, "lord" or "owner of the land") are more grandiose than real. In actuality, he is only a soothsayer.

During the profoundly radical changes that followed the formation of regional communities (the negory—see above, p. 53) on Ambon, with regional administrations appointed by foreign authority, the old clan chiefs (upu aman) continued to exercise their old functions, which stemmed from the ancient communal right of disposal. In this capacity they had now become land supervisors (tuan tanah).

In some villages of the Pasemah, there is still a factotum known as the "jurai tua." He is a direct descendant of the village founder and possesses authority in affairs of land use along with the village headman. The same institution is reported from the mixed villages along the Barito River in Borneo. When the number of outsiders in a mixed village gets to be so large that even the village chief is chosen from among their number, the old adat-law chief of the original villagers still carries on as a "pengulu," but only as an official who deals with matters of real estate.

In one village of the Kampar region there is a distinction between the chiefs (pengulu andiko) and land supervisors (tuo ulayat), which was brought about by the bestowal of chieftainship by outside authority upon representatives of a younger branch of the kin group from which the chief should come in consonance with the native law. This has occasionally cropped up elsewhere.

The fundamental idea of the supervisor of lands, namely, that the group and its land are inseparable, shows up in yet another way. An earlier report on the Minahasa states that seizure of the land after a successful war was deemed "impossible."

It may also frequently be observed, when for administrative purposes several villages are combined into one community, that although the new village may be put under one head and officially recorded as one village, the two or three original villages still keep their independent areas of disposal to themselves. A member of the newly constituted village is still a stranger on the lands of the